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A CRITICAL
ESSAY

ON THE
ANCIENT INHABITANTS
Of the *Northern Parts* of
BRITAIN, or SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING
An ACCOUNT of the *Romans*, of the *Britains*
betwixt the Walls, of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*,
and particularly of the *Scots*.

WITH
An APPENDIX of ancient MS. Pieces.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I

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THE
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I. *THE* humour of running up the originals of nations to incredible heights, prevailed almost among all those, of whom we have any certain account: each nation vying with, and endeavouring to surpass one another in their antiquities. Thus we observe the contentions that were in ancient times, betwixt the Egyptians, the Scythians, and other Nations of the East, concerning the antiquity of their first settlements; and to what an absurd multitude of years, and number of ancient kings they pretended.

THE most part of other nations were in proportion possessed with the same humour, and the more they were ignorant of what passed before their own time, the more they were inclined to run up their antiquities to incredible heights; nay, some even before the creation of the world.

IT is then no wonder, that the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland were like to other nations in this. The time of the first planting of these islands, being in those ages, when they had no use of letters, and by consequence no means of preserving the memory of past transactions, and less yet of calculation of dates or epochs, left them a fair field of expatiating in the dark ages of the most remote antiquity, under the conduct of their ignorant and venal guides the bards, famous for their flattering their patrons with ancient pedigrees, and whole nations with ancient successions of kings.

II. IN the course of ages, in proportion as the world came to be polished with letters, arts and sciences, and with the knowledge of the rules of chronology, all those high fabricks of antiquity, which the vanity or ignorance of former times had reared up, were the more easily overturned, that they had no solid foundation nor support; particularly within these two last ages, when, by the discovery of so many monuments of antiquity, which in former ages had

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had lain forgotten, and, as it were, buried in the corners of old libraries, the true taste of solid antiquity hath been revived, and the study of genuine historical monuments, and of the rules of chronology, improved, we observe that the more learned, almost in all countries, have, without any offence of the generality of their countrymen, and with the approbation of the best judges among them, made no difficulty to enquire into the grounds of their more remote antiquities; and however they may have been in vogue in former ages, they have taken the liberty to reduce both the antiquity of their settlement, and number of their kings, to the true standard of the best vouchers that they could find.

III. THE *debates about the antiquity of the settlement and monarchy of the Scots, as they are accounted for in our modern writers, and the several pieces published within the last age, for and against them, by learned writers of our own country on the one side, and on the other by those of England and Ireland, gave me the first thoughts of enquiring into the bottom of this controversy, in order to find out the truth,*

truth, or at least what was most conformable to it ; and, after reading with all the attention I could, and with all the impartiality that it is possible to have in what one's country is concerned in, what had been written on both sides ; and, after examining with no less application all that I could meet with in ancient writers or monuments, printed or MS. relating to the subject ; the result of all was the first rude draught of this essay.

THUS the substance of it was drawn up several years ago ; and tho' I was then no less convinced, than I am at present, of the truth of it, especially as to the story of the first forty kings before Fergus son of Erch, as accounted for by Hector Boece ; yet an apprehension to be thought singular or presumptuous, and an aversion to be the first that should not only depart from, but contradict the common opinion of my countrymen in a matter which had been esteemed honourable to our country ; these considerations, I acknowledge, made me at first resolve to suppress, at least during my own time, this essay, and leave to others the invi-

invidious task of reforming our vulgar historians.

IV. *BUT* being afterwards prevailed upon to search into, and to endeavour to give some account of the beginning and progress of the doctrine and discipline of the christian church in our northern parts of the island; and it appearing impossible to give any distinct account of the religious history of any country, without that the civil state of it, and that of its inhabitants, were first well understood; for these reasons, and being otherways satisfied that nothing solid or lasting could be built upon the schemes of our civil history and antiquities, such as our modern writers, especially Boece and Buchanan, had left, I found myself obliged to resume the rude draught I had formerly made of this essay, as the only sure foundation on which I could venture any distinct or lasting account of the religious part of our history.

WHEREFORE, having made a new examination of all contained in it, after retrenching what seemed superfluous, and adding new observations, I reduced the whole

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whole into the method and order in which it now appears. And being thus reduced into a continued series and distinct order, I could not refuse to shew it to some few honourable persons, versed in the history of our own, and of other countries, and on whose judgment I might depend and confide in. I found them, after they had read and considered it, of opinion, that the facts asserted in it were supported with such proofs, and the whole written with such a regard to the true honour of our country, that it could not fail to be acceptable to the learned among our countrymen, who loved truth, and the real honour of Scotland; and therefore, they insisted that it ought to be published by itself, without waiting for the ecclesiastical part, which was scarce begun, and which might be obstructed by the advanced age of the author, and twenty other accidents, from ever being continued on, or perfected.

V. FROM these, and such other reasons, I was at last persuaded to let it appear, rather from my own hand, than from that of any other, being unwilling to have the many faults or mistakes of my own, that I doubt

doubt not will be found in it, augmented by those which an editor, not so well accustomed to the stile or matter, besides errors or mistakes in the copy, might add to it. I consented then to let it be published; but on condition that I should first communicate it, and have the opinion of two or three persons in our own country, of distinguished merit and knowledge of its history and antiquities; and that at the same time I might make a new search in the country for ancient historical monuments, for or against the system that I had established, which might give farther light to the whole subject. And it was only after having communicated it to those persons in the country, whom I looked upon as good judges of such a work, and having found them of the same opinion as those I had at first advised with, and after having met with in my searches of ancient monuments, new proofs of what I had established in the essay, and nothing of moment opposite to it: it was, I say, after this that I resolved at last to venture to expose it to the impartial judgment of the publick.

VL IN compiling it, I proposed to myself no complete work, but to keep within bounds of the title it bears of an Essay; but an essay upon the most ancient and the most obscure part of our history, such as might be so much the more useful an help to any that would undertake it, that by a certain course of enquiry, and in order to give more light to the subject, I have been obliged to follow a method very different from that of those who have hitherto treated it; and to beat out to myself, if I may say so, paths that had not been trodden before. Having thought it more secure to direct my course by such glimpses of light, as the more certain monuments of antiquity furnished me, then to follow, as so many others have done, with so little advantage to the credit of our antiquities, the beaten road of our modern writers.

IF, in this new path, where I had none to go before me, I have sometimes mistaken my way, it will be no surprize to me; and I shall be always ready to accept, with gratitude, the help of any friendly hand that can set me right. All I can answer for,
is

is my sincere endeavours to search impartially after truth, and a fixed resolution to prefer, upon all occasions, what I conceived most conformable to it, before all prejudices whatsoever.

VII. BUT as my resolution to prefer truth to all prejudices, did not exempt me from the duty and regard I owed to my country, I looked upon it as a part of that duty to endeavour, as far as I was able, to remove those prejudices; and in order to that, to examine into the sources, whence the new schemes of our history, drawn up by our modern writers, had taken their rise, and to endeavour, if possible, to place the ancient state of our country on a better footing, by substituting to these new schemes such accounts of our antiquities as are no less honourable to the country; and at the same time are more certain, and more conformable to the best ancient writers.

I observed that the chief occasion and source of all the mistakes and errors of these later writers, which had chiefly laid them open to the censures of the learned in other countries, was that, excepting the Picts
 a 2 alone,

alone, whom they could not but acknowledge a distinct race of people from the Scots that came in from Ireland, these writers supposed in general that ~~all~~ ^{the} other ancient inhabitants of ~~Britain~~ ^{as North} made a part of these Scots. So with them the Brigantes, the Meatzæ, the Caledonii, the Horrestii, &c. were all Scots; and in consequence whatever they found in ancient writers, performed by these ancient people, of whatever name, who dwelt within the bounds of what composed since the kingdom of Scotland, was by them attributed to these Scots.

VIII. *WHAT* chiefly contributed to lead our writers into these mistakes, was an opinion that had generally gained credit among the Scots before their time: that the Scots had been settled in Britain long before the incarnation, and had been in possession of all the northern parts of it, excepting what was occupied by the Picts, whose kingdom was, by these writers, reduced into much narrower bounds than it had in reality.

FROM this it was natural for them to look upon all the other inhabitants of these northern countries, as being a part of the
Scots,

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Scots, under the various names that they bore; and by consequence, to attribute to the Scots all that they found honourably related of them in ancient writers.

IT was upon the same foundation that the fabrick of the remote antiquities of the Scots, and particularly that of the monarchy, and of the first forty or forty-five kings in the Scottish line, was first traced by John Fordun; and being left very imperfect by him, was filled up, and brought into a continued history by Boece, upon the memoirs furnished him under the names of Veremund, Campbel, &c. and the whole revised and put into a more taking dress, fitted to his purpose, and in a noble stile of Latin, by Buchanan. The times, conjunctures of affairs, and dispositions of our people, in which these three writers compiled their histories, serving to make them meet with a more favourable and a more general reception by our countrymen; as it will appear of each in its proper place.

BT those means the accounts given by these writers, of the ancient settlement and monar-

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monarchy of the Scots in Britain, had gained such credit among our countrymen, as contributing to the honour and reputation of the country, and have to that degree over-awed those of them who had examined more impartially these remote antiquities, that tho' some of our later writers have not made difficulty to insinuate, as occasion offered, their doubts and difficulties about them, none of our writers hitherto have ventured to publish any thing like a critick of them.

IX. *AND yet what serves all this fondness for these remote antiquities, if they be destituted of solid grounds and proper vouchers to support them, but to make us pass in the judgment of the learned of other countries for a credulous people, far from doing any real honour to our country.*

OUR pretensions to excel other nations in the antiquity of the settlement and monarchy of the Scots in Britain, have, long ago, stirred up the emulation of the learned in other countries, especially in those of our neighbourhood, to enquire into the
3 *grounds*

grounds of them, and to expose the uncertain, or even fabulous foundations on which most of them are built. And we live in an age in which all ancient accounts of history, however confidently delivered in the finest dress by modern writers, are brought back to a tryal; and whatever vogue they may have had for an age or two, are allowed by the best judges of these kind of performances, no more credit than what is due to their vouchers.

BESIDES the little ground there is of the story of the first forty kings before Fergus son of Erch, there are other reasons which will appear in their proper place, that prove that the account of the succession, lives, actions, and exits of these kings, as they are set down by Boece and Buchanan (for John Fordun could find nothing of these details) far from doing any real honour to our country, or contributing, as all historical accounts ought to do, to the benefit of posterity, and to the mutual happiness of king and people, do rather bring a reproach upon the country, and furnish a handle to turbulent spirits, to
disturb

disturb the quiet and peace, and, by consequence, the happiness of the inhabitants.

HOW far this is the case of the story of the first forty kings, particularly as it is delivered by Boece and Buchanan, will appear in the second book of this essay. At least the matter is of that concern, that no man that loves the honour and happiness of his country, will, I hope, be dissatisfied to have it brought to a trial.

X. OUR part of the island having been in ancient times inhabited by five distinct people; the Britains, the Caledonians or Picts, the Romans, the Scots, and the Saxons, my intention, in the first book, was, after a short account of the Romans in the island, to treat a part of the two most ancient inhabitants of our northern parts, the Britains called Meats, and the Caledonians; and to shew that, as on the one hand there is no ground in ancient writers to believe they were of the race of the Scots, or made a part of them, as our modern historians pretend; so, on the other, the remains of these two ancient people, the first known inhabitants of what composes the kingdom of Scotland, having

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having been at last by degrees incorporated with the rest of its inhabitants into one body of people with the Scots, and their possessions into one kingdom of Scotland, the present inhabitants, throughout all the provinces, where that ancient people formerly dwelt, may claim by as just a title for their country-men, those of that ancient people, who were famous in former ages, either for the sanctity of their lives, or for their martial valour, as if these great men had been descended of the Scots: They may also reckon down from them the antiquity of their first settlement, and from the first of their kings, I mean of the Caledonians or Picts, the antiquity of the monarchy, as well as from that of the Scots (a).

HENCE follows, that the present inhabitants of Scotland, independently of the new schemes of the antiquity of the settlement and monarchy of the Scots, drawn up by our modern writers, may lay claim to as ancient a settlement and monarchy, as any people of the islands of Britain or Ireland; and by consequence may be very indifferent a-

(a) V. pag. 41. & 165. infra.

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about the time of the first settlement in Britain of these Scots that came from Ireland, and about the antiquity of the monarchy in the Scottish line (a).

AND it ought also to be observed, that as to the antiquity of the monarchy even in this Scottish line, as I have accounted for it from the surest and most ancient historical monuments that I could meet with; and beginning this monarchy only at K. Fergus son of Erch, from this king till K. James VI. the last of our kings that resided in Scotland, and the first of Great Britain, we have sixty-three kings, hereditarily succeeding one to another, in a lineal descent of thirty-seven degrees, during the space of eleven hundred years, which is a greater antiquity than any hereditary monarchy of Europe, of one uninterrupted race can pretend to.

XI. WHAT concerns the Meats and Caledonians or Picts, is treated at length in the first book of this essay: and as on the one hand it was necessary to give an ac-

(a) V. pag. 174, 175, &c. infra.

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count of each of these ancient inhabitants of our northern parts ; so, I hope, it will on the other equally serve to prepare the judicious and impartial readers among our country-men to enter with more indifference and impartiality into the examination of the historical schemes of our modern writers contained chiefly in the second book.

AND therefore my first intention was to have given what is contained in this essay separately in three distinct dissertations one after another, which might each prepare the reader to the following. And thus to have given in the first dissertation all that is contained here in the first book ; in the second, all that is contained under the title of the first section of the second book ; and in the third dissertation, what is contained in the second section of the second book, but which ought to have been entitled the third book. However, I was afterwards advised to give the whole essay at once ; which being read in the order it is here placed, may have the same effect, each part serving for a preparation and introduction to the following one.

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AND this was one of the motives of my following this order in treating of the ancient inhabitants. Another more natural motive was, to conform myself to the order of the time of their first settlement in the island; or of the first mention that is made of them in ancient writers. First, the Britains; the Caledonians or Picts in the second place; in the third, the Romans; the Scots in the fourth, and last of all, the Saxons.

*I have begun with the Romans, that being necessary to give light to the rest. But the transactions of the Romans in this island in general, having been already treated by so many writers after Camden; their walls being described with great exactitude, by the late learned Dr. Smith in his edition of Bede's history; and all the remains of the Romans in our northern parts of the island, having been of late carefully surveyed, and accurately described and illustrated with copper plates, by our countryman Mr. Gordon in his Itinerarium Septentrionale, I found it would be useless to add, or to alter any thing in the short account I
had*

had drawn up, some years ago, of the Romans; especially finding that the account I had given of the situation of the Roman walls; which was the chief thing I had use for, was in the main conformable to that of these learned gentlemen.

XII. *A third reason that determined me to this order was, that the view I had in this essay being to endeavour to make a solid foundation for what may be gleaned from ancient writers, or for what remains there are, after all the disasters befallen ecclesiastical monuments in Scotland, in order to give some account of the first entry, and of the progress of the doctrine and discipline of christianity in our northern parts of this island; nothing seemed more natural in this view, than the order I have followed in treating of these several ancient inhabitants, among whom it appears, by the situation of the affairs of that part of the island, or rather by a particular disposition of divine providence, that the spreading of the light of the gospel followed the order of the first settlement of the inhabitants.*

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THE sun of righteousness began very early to shine from abroad in the Roman part of the island; and from thence the beams of that heavenly light were derived, by degrees, northward to the Midland Britains or Meats, in the intervals that they were subjected to the empire, or included in it; as they were from the building of Antoninus's wall, A.D. 138, betwixt the Friths: which opening a free commerce with the southmost parts of the island, gave a favourable occasion of the gospel's penetrating to the more northern. Hence we may observe, by the famous passage of Tertullian (a), writing about A.D. 209. that there were already believers in Christ even in those parts of the island which the Romans had not subdued. The violent persecution of Dioclesian in the end of the third, but chiefly in the first years of the fourth century, obliging many christians to fly for refuge to desarts and uninhabited places, to be out of the reach of the persecutors, could not fail of increasing the number of christi-

(a) *Britannorum inaccesa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Tertullian, contra Judæos, cap. 7.*

ans in the northern parts of the island, without the bounds of the empire.

AFTER the middle of this fourth age, A. D. 369, the territories of the Meats or Midland Britains betwixt the walls, were erected in a Roman province by the general Theodosius, under the name of Valentia; and as this opened a more free communication with the provinces of the empire in Britain, so it appears, that before the end of the fourth age, the christian religion was spread from one end of this new province to the other. St. Ninian was born of christian parents, in what was afterwards called Galloway, in the one extremity of it; and in the other, near Dunbarton, St. Patrick was also born of christian parents, and in a place peopled by christians, and these two bishops became by themselves, and by their disciples, the first apostles of the Picts and Scots, both in Ireland and Britain.

*BESIDES what conversions St. Palladius might have made among the Picts and Scots, on his retreat from Ireland to the northern parts of Britain, Fergus Son of Erch, first King of the Scots, brought o-
ver*

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ver with him a new addition to the number of christians, and we have a proof of the zeal for religion of these first kings of Scots, by the reception King Conal, great grand-son to Fergus made to St. Columba upon his arrival into Albany, to convert the northern Picts.

T H E last people, to wit, the Saxons of the north (some of whom had a settlement in our northern parts) were also converted the last of all by the bishop Aydan, his successors, and disciples, all of them sent in from Scotland in the seventh age. And thus we see these four ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, were converted to christianity in the same order that they settled at first in these parts.

XIII. I had thoughts of making in this preface a review, or remarks upon several places of this essay. But not to retard the printer who waits for what remains of it, I shall content myself at present to make here the following observations. One is upon what is said, pag. 264. where I express some doubt, whether our kings in ancient times had any oath administered to them

them at their coronation. *What gave occasion to my doubting of it, was, that I had not observed any account of it any where; and particularly, that in the exact edition, that Mr. Hearne hath given us of Fordun's history, and of its continuation, in which last the solemnity of the coronation of King Alexander III. is described at length, there is no mention in it of any oath administered to him. But since that part of the essay was printed, I have found the ceremony of that coronation set down at more length by one of Fordun's continuators in the large Scotchchronicon, or Book of Passy in the king's library at London; and among other additions to Fordun's continuation I found these words: (a) David episcopo S. Andreæ ipsum regem coram magnatibus terra baltheo militari præcingente, & jura & vota quæ ad regem spectant prius Latine postea Gallice (b) exponente, rex omnia benigne concedens & attemptans (c) a dicto episcopo Benedictionem & coronationem lubens subiit*

(a) Scotchchron Passat. lib. 10: cap. 1.

(b) Whether by the Word *Gallice* is meant *Galick* or *French* I am in doubt, but it would appear, that the king, being then very young, understood only his native language.

(c) F. acceptans.

& admitit. *And I suppose the same account will be found in the other large Scotichronicons.*

XIV. *A N O T H E R* remark is upon what is said, pag. 552. of the destruction of our historical monuments by king Edward I. of England, to which I also join the carrying off our records. Upon which, an English gentleman of distinction, and of great knowledge in history and antiquities, made me observe, that in mentioning king Edward's carrying off our records during the debate of the competitors, I ought also in justice to have mentioned his ordering these records to be restored to John Bailiol, upon his being declared king.

I ought indeed, in the first place, I acknowledge, to have distinguished more clearly betwixt the loss we sustained in king Edward I's time of ancient histories, or historical monuments, and his carrying off our records. As to historical monuments, besides the general complaint that our writers make against king Edward's carrying off or destroying them, I gave a more ancient and more particular account of the damage

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mage that our history suffered from him, taken from the preface of the chronicle of Couper (a), which had not as yet been published. And after all, I supposed, and I do so still, that if our ancient churches and convents, with their libraries, had escaped the zeal of the reformation, there would have still been found good remains of our ancient history, tho' much neglected, from the time that Fordun's was published, as being very different from his new scheme.

XV. *AS to our publick records, I ought indeed to have been more clear in what happened to them in king Edward's reign, and to have distinguished more precisely the times. First, when that king came, A. D. 1291, as an amicable arbitrator of the debates among the competitors; and in that quality the publick records were, I suppose, deposited in his hands, or in those of commissioners appointed by him, to be restored to whomsoever among the competitors should be declared king. I do also suppose that, as it is contained in a writ published by M. Rymer, they were effectually delivered to*

(a) *Iinfra*, p. 205.

king John; tho' I must acknowledge, that I have some doubt whether king Edward having, during the confusions of a divided and headless nation, gotten himself declared superior lord of Scotland, would be so very scrupulous as to restore back those very special records by which that superiority had been renounced by his predecessors, and Scotland acknowledged as an independent kingdom; such as the charter of release granted by king Richard I. to king William. Since it still remains in England, and was very candidly published by M. Rymer from the original. However, I would be sorry to affirm as certain, that king Edward kept up any of our records the first time they were in his hands.

BUT they fell back again a second time into his hands in a very different manner; for, A. D. 1295, king John, wearied with king Edward's provocations, with the reproaches of his subjects, and probably of his own conscience, having renewed the league with Philip king of France, and having the following year renounced his homage to king Edward, this king came down a second time in a hostile manner against the Scots,
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who being still divided among themselves (Robert the Bruce, with his party, refusing to acknowledge king John) king Edward became in a short time master of all the strong places of the kingdom, and of king John himself, whom he sent prisoner to England; and then it was, that intending to ruin entirely the monarchy, and abolish the regal dignity among the Scots, the better to secure his title of superior lord over them, he carried off not only the publick records, but the Regalia, and even the famous stone chair on which our kings used to be crowned (a). And of any restoration made of what was carried off at this time, we have no account; for what was sent back to Scotland at the restoration of king Charles II. was, I suppose, what Cromwell carried off, and even much of that perished in coming back; and I cannot hinder myself from adding, that it were to be wished, for the honour of the kingdom, and for the interest of its noble families, that greater care had been, or at least were in times coming, taken by the publick, as it is done here in England, for the preservation of the

(a) V. Matth. Westmonaster. & Walsingham.

few remains we have still left of ancient records.

XVI. *BUT to return to king Edward's reign, which, if it had lasted much longer, it appears too well, by his behaviour in his last moments, that he intended to make the same ravage in Scotland that he had made in Wales. The brave king Robert the Bruce retrieved the sinking state of the kingdom; and having, A. D. 1314, quite routed king Edward II. with his numerous army, in the famous battle at Banockburn, he continued several years after to harraß England, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope and his legates, till he at last forced king Edward III, in a parliament at York, A.D. 1328, to renounce solemnly, by a writ under his great seal, with consent of parliament, all title, right and pretension to any superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and to declare null, and of no force, all past acts, writs and conventions to the contrary; as the same is contained more at large in the original duplicate of the writs or charters of that renunciation, which the three estates of Scotland in parliament assembled at Perth in March 1415 caused,*

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for greater precaution, and lest the originals might be lost, to be transcribed in a publick and authentick form of instrument, and duplicates of it to be deposited in the archives of the chief churches. Of all which, there remains only the original duplicate, which was deposited in the archives of the metropolitan church of Glasgo, which was saved, with other ancient records of that church, by the archbishop James Beaton, from perishing in the general conflagration (a) of all the records or archives of all cathedral churches over the kingdom. And this instrument or duplicate, containing an authentick monument of the liberty and independency of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, and being the only full copy, that I know of, that now remains, I shall give it in the appendix, Num. VIII. copied verbatim from the original instrument. The copy of king Edward's renunciation, given by M. Anderson, tho' the best that he could find in Scotland, besides other alterations, cutting off, with an &c. at the end, both the date and one of the principal clauses of king Edward's charter of renunciation, to wit, the

(a) V. p. 570, &c. infra.

words,

words, Per ipsum regem & consilium in parlamento.

XVII. *IT* was among the remains of the records of the same church of Glasgo, which are still carefully preserved, that the Charta authentica Roberti Seneschalli Scotiæ, was found, and being examined, A. D. 1694, in a solemn assembly of the best antiquaries of France, was published the year following, with notes to vindicate the legitimacy of king Robert III. which small piece having awaked the attention of the learned, hath been since followed by many other larger dissertations, with ample collections of writs and charters to the same purport.

FROM this we may observe, that in the archives of our cathedral churches, and of our great abbey, were deposited not only the records, charters, bulls and writs of the churches, the collections of canons, the particular histories of these churches, with the succession of prelates and the registers, containing authentick accounts of all ecclesiastical transactions, and such other ancient monuments, which, according to the zeal of the reformers, were condemned to the
fire

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fire, as remains of popery ; but there were also deposited in the same archives, as in sacred azyles (which in former times were held inviolable) many other ancient records, charters and writs, containing the proofs of the rights and independency of the kingdom, and many original writs proper to illustrate and give light into its history. Many of which, without distinction, perished generally with the rest.

XVIII. *AMONG other matters treated of in this essay (a), it was not possible to examine Buchanan's history, without speaking of queen Mary, whose cause gave rise to Buchanan's libel, De jure Regni, whereof his history is chiefly designed, as will appear in its proper place, to serve for a proof.*

WITHOUT *this necessary connexion, that the cause of this princess hath with Buchanan's historical writings and principles, I certainly had not in a work concerning the antiquities of our country touched upon a subject so modern, and so embroiled*

(a) *Infra*, pag. 314, &c.

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by the contradictory accounts of so many writers, friends and enemies, according to their different affections and interests. But being obliged to say something of it, and that too in a very great hurry to keep pace with the press, I thought I could not do better than to take my accounts of it from the relation given of it by a man of the probity, integrity and reputation of Camden, and so well informed of all that concerned it.

I am not afraid, that impartial men will find fault with my relying upon queen Elizabeth's historian for an account of queen Mary's cause. He had seen all the papers, letters, acts and relations in the Cotton Library, and in the paper-office that concerned queen Mary, and more than perhaps now remain. But he had candor and equity, that preserved him from being biased, and judgment to discern what might be relied upon among the great number of pieces that concerned queen Mary's cause; he conversed with the persons that were at the helm, and at the bottom of affairs when her cause was in agitation; and with many that were eye and ear-witnesses of what concerned her, both in England, and in Scot-

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Scotland, and saw into the bottom of the intrigues and contrivances of these times against that princess.

AND as on the one hand he knew, that the whole drift of some of the principal counsellors about queen Elizabeth, was to find accusations to blacken queen Mary, and by endeavouring to blast her reputation, and render her infamous and odious, to lessen or take away the influence and credit she had even with great numbers in England, as well as abroad.

SO on the other hand, Camden knew what judgment to make of the accusations brought against queen Mary from Scotland, particularly of the depositions of criminals, who upon the rack, put in hopes to save their lives by so doing, or at least to obtain a cessation of the torture, said all that was suggested to them, and retracted all again upon the scaffold, when they were ready to appear before a higher tribunal; and he was too wise to value the acts drawn up against the queen, by officers of justice depending on Murray, Morton, &c. directed by their influence, and all of them

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declared enemies to the queen; and who, after the length they were gone, risked both their lives and fortunes if they did not make her guilty.

A L L this being of Camden's knowledge, was it necessary, that in order to be thought an impartial writer, he should suppress what he found made for queen Mary's justification, and publish anew Buchanan's infamous libel against her, and all he could scrape together of the productions of her enemies to support it, that by those means he might have the pleasure to rake into the ashes of the mother of his sovereign, and to disturb in her grave, as much as he was able, the rest of a princess, who could find none during her life.

W H E N the impression of this preface was thus far advanced, there came to my hands two printed letters from Mr. Buckley to Dr. Mead, the last of which contains some things concerning Camden's annals of queen Elizabeth, which I had not heard of till now; otherwise in the account of queen Mary's cause, which the connexion it hath with Buchanan's history, obliged me to treat
of

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of in the essay; I could have added to the authority of Camden's annals, new proofs, if I had been at more leisure. However, as to his second letter to Dr. Mead, I observe indeed, by Camden's letter of Aug. 10. 1612. that he was ordered to put the first part of his annals in Sir Rob. Cotton's hands, to be communicated to king James; but it does not appear either by that letter, or by any other of Camden's to Thuanus, that any material alterations were made in them. And is it likely that Camden in his private letters to Thuanus, in which he speaks with great freedom and concern of king James his giving suddenly a warrant for printing his annals, would not have also complained to his friend Thuanus, that alterations had been made in them, had there any such been actually made? Or that he would not have put Thuanus on his guard, they being sent him to serve for vouchers of his history, as to British affairs. Besides this, it appears by another private letter of Camden to Thuanus (16 April 1605) seven years before king James saw that first part of his annals, that Camden's genuine sentiments concerning Murray's character, and Buchanan's libels against queen Mary,

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Mary, were at that time much the same as we find them in his annals.

THAT king James highly resented, that a magistrate of the reputation of Thuanus had let himself be misled by the impudence with which Buchanan had published, in a polite stile, the most false and malicious calumnies against the queen his mother, was very natural. No man alive was better informed than this king himself, of the truth of what passed in these times, nor of the crying injustice and inhumanity exercised by the conspirators against the queen his mother; and what, no doubt, irritated him chiefly against Murray, was that this usurper and his faction, made use in their pretended parliament, in Dec. 1567, of king James's name (at that time a child not eighteen months old) to condemn and depose the queen his mother their sovereign, and that without allowing her the liberty to defend herself, either in person or by proxy, as she most earnestly intreated.

THIS being, and the king her son perfectly convinced of the queen's innocence, and of the ambitious designs, calumnies and
ma-

malice of her accusers, if he employed men of such known worth and integrity as Sir Robert Cotton, Camden and Casaubon to engage Thuanus to rectify what he had written of queen Mary upon false information, it was a duty and justice that the king owed to her majesty's memory. And when one considers, that on the one hand the most cunning heads, the bitterest tongues, the most popular declaimers, and the most refined pens in Scotland, were by their different interests and animosities, combined, especially whilst the distressed queen was close prisoner, to contrive accusations against her, and to render them plausible; and that on the other, all these productions of these conspirators were greedily received, and improved to the utmost length by some of the best heads, and who had at that time the greatest credit in the council of England, is it any surprise, that writers about those times, such as Thuanus, should have been imposed upon? to say nothing here of his prejudices against the house of Lorain, of which queen Mary was descended. But this is enough, and much more than I first intended, upon a subject so embroiled, and upon which there is extant so great abundance of contradictory accounts
both

both printed and unprinted, that it is likely her cause will continue as yet some ages to furnish matter of writing, for and against, according to the different interests and affections of men.

XIX. ONE of the subjects examined in this essay, which, next to the discussion of the remote antiquities of my own country, made me at first resolve not to let it appear in my own time, was the examination contained in it of the remote antiquities of Ireland. What led me naturally into that discussion was, that one of the chief views that I had in the essay being to examine, as much as it was possible in so dark ages, into the epoch of the first settlement of the Scots in Britain, and they being, by the consent of all the learned, unquestionably come in at first from Ireland, it appeared impossible to make any fixed judgment of the time of the coming of the Scots to Britain, without being first assured of the truth of what the Irish writers have advanced of the antiquity of the settlement of the Scots in Ireland, and of the long succession of their kings down from Heremon, above a thousand years before the incarnation :

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tion: in that case it seemed to me, as I have endeavoured to shew (a), that the first settlement of the Scots in Britain might be with an equal probability placed some three or four ages before the incarnation, as our writers have generally fixed it. But if the Scots were a foreign people, as Camden and other learned men are of opinion they were, and that they came into Ireland only about, or even after, the time of the birth of Christ; in that case the epoch of the settlement of the Scots in Britain, must have certainly been as yet later, and on the time of their first settlement that of the beginning of their monarchy in Britain necessarily depended.

T H I S being the case, the examination of the antiquity of the first settlement of the Scots in Ireland, and by consequence that of the grounds of their remote antiquities was unavoidable to one that had all along endeavoured to go, as much as possible, to the bottom of each subject that he examined. And being once engaged into this discussion, it led me insensibly much farther than I had at first intended: this

(a) Pag. 134, &c. infra.

obliged me, upon the resolution taken at last to publish this essay, to retrench a part of what concerned these remote antiquities, and to endeavour to soften the style and expression of what remains, so as it might give no just cause of offence to any body.

AND I have ground to hope, that the learned, equitable and considerate persons of that kingdom will easily observe, that all that I have said upon the subject, was, to the best of my knowledge, intended for the true honour of the Irish nation, and of its history, by exposing impartially, as I have done in regard of my own country, what appears advanced without sufficient ground by the writers of their history, of what passed before Leogare's time; and by laying before them the means that appear the most proper, towards freeing their country from the reproach of too great credulity, and towards gaining reputation to their country, and credit to their histories, among the learned in foreign countries: that is, 1. To make an entire distinction, as Sir James Ware and other learned men have done, betwixt the dubious or fabulous accounts, left by their bards, of their remote anti-

antiquities, and the certain history of what passed in Ireland since St. Patrick or king Leogare's time. 2. To publish, as all other polished nations have done, and continue daily to do, the genuine text of their Latin chronicles or annals, or a literal version of them, when in Irish. I mean particularly of these of Tigernach, Ulster, &c. and such others written in times of light and learning; which might be done on as little expence, and probably meet with more encouragement from the publick, than Dr. Keating's book, published within these few years; which, whether the story it contains of their remote antiquities will serve for the true honour of Ireland, I refer to the learned, and those that know the true taste of these times.

IN fine, as to what I have been obliged to say of these remote antiquities, I have ground to hope that no impartial man, that reads with attention what I have said in this essay, of the remote antiquities of my own country, as well as of those of Ireland, will accuse me of partiality. I may indeed have fallen into many mistakes, and doubt not but I have, as to the antiquities of Ire-

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land,

land, being a stranger ; but at least I meant well, and aimed only at truth.

XX. IT was chiefly the discussion of these remote antiquities, and of the time of the first settlement of the Scots in Ireland, which, together with the abstracts or remains of our own ancient history, forced me at last, not without great repugnancy, to lay aside what I had collected with no small pains, in order to support and render at least probable John Fordun's system of the antiquity of the settlement and of the monarchy of Scots in Britain, as it will appear in its proper place.

AS to that of Boece, besides the other proofs against it, set down in their proper place, it might suffice, that until the year 1526, that his history was printed, I could hitherto never meet with any piece before that year, either printed or MS. containing, I do not say the lives and actions of his first forty kings, but their genealogy, such as he gives it, no not even their bare names. Nor could I hitherto meet with any man that could say that he had ever seen either history or record written before
that

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that year 1526, that contained either the genealogy or the names of the first forty kings, such as Boece found them in his Veremund, &c. As to Buchanan's history of those forty kings, it being a bare abstract of that of Boece, calculated to support the cause that he was embarked in, it must fall or stand with that of Boece.

XXI. *IT was not possible to enter into the discussion of the historical facts related by Boece from Veremund, and by Buchanan from Boece, without taking notice of the account that they deliver of the pretended judicial proceedings against so many ancient kings, by their nobles and subjects; which hath given occasion to so many foreign writers to brand our nobility, and nation in general, with the reproach of having always been a seditious and rebellious people against their sovereigns, and I conceived that it was a duty I owed to my country, to examine into the bottom of that reproach, and shew how little ground there is in all that remains of more certain of our ancient history, for what the first of these two modern writers hath out of too great credulity, and the*

the last with a formed design, and by principle, advanced on that subject.

XXII. *THE account which I have given in the last chapter of the essay of the steps and degrees of the growth of our remote antiquities was, besides the giving light to the subject, designed, not so much for a critick of Fordun, Winton, &c. as for an apology. And indeed if we consider the credit, that the opinion of the Scots having been settled both in Ireland and Britain long before the incarnation (which was the source of all these remote antiquities) had obtained before their times; if we reflect upon the times, circumstances, prevailing opinions of the nation, when those writers lived, we will be easily persuaded, that they could not well write, but as they did; and if we had lived and written on the subject in their times and circumstances, we should probably have been equally influenced with the common traditions of the times, and written accordingly. They wanted innumerable helps that we have; and the general practice of all other nations in those times, was no less an encouragement to them to raise to the greatest height*

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height they possibly could, the antiquity of the settlement, and of the monarchy of the Scots, than in our times the common practice of all the more learned and polished nations, in allowing their remote antiquities to be reduced to the just standard of truth, ought equally to encourage both the Irish and Scots, in order to avoid the reproach of groundless credulity, to employ the learned of their country in the same service, to support its reputation among foreign nations.

XXIII. *NOW as to this small performance of mine, the favour, or if I may speak so, the justice, that I have to beg of my own countrymen is, 1. That before they judge of it, or censure it, they would be at the trouble to read it all over in the order that I here give it. I have endeavoured to connect it from the beginning to the end into a continued series; and therefore no fixt judgment can be made of one part of it separately without relation to the rest. 2. That they would consider whether, supposing the reasons and authorities which I have given, it was possible for me to make any other judgment than I have*

have done of the systems of our antiquities drawn up by Boece, Buchanan, or even by Fordun; and, supposing these systems were not sustainable, whether I could with so lame accounts as we have of those times, set the ancient state of the inhabitants of our country, on a more certain, at least a more likely, and more honourable footing than I have endeavoured to place it, and that in the first book, which I designedly premised, before I discussed the systems of our modern historians in the second. 3. That they would also consider, that what I have said against the accounts given of our history by Fordun, Boece, Buchanan, &c. concerns chiefly the remote antiquities of the Scots, that is, the accounts they have delivered of the first forty or forty-five kings, and the other transactions before Fergus son of Erch, and his immediate successors till king Aydan. For as to the succession of our kings from king Aydan downwards, and the few particulars of Scottish affairs of these times set down by Fordun, he being the most ancient continued historian that we have now remaining, he justly deserves a preference to all that came after him, and his

his credulity to the common opinions of his time, concerning the remote antiquities of the Scots, ought not to derogate from his authority in his historical accounts taken from our ancient writers of Scottish affairs in following ages. The same thing I say in proportion of the authority of Boece, Buchanan, and the rest of our historians, in as far as their accounts are conformable to, or, at least, not contradicted by more ancient writers. 4. That they would look upon this work, not as a finished piece, but as a simple essay, in which I have endeavoured to clear up the ancient state of our country, to separate what seemed fabulous and groundless from what appears more certain, And though I have been sometimes obliged, for want of vouchers, to make use of conjectures (all which I leave to the judgment of the learned readers;) in all the more important occasions, I have set down and quoted my authorities, and those either from authors already published, or from MSS. to which the access is easy, and I have printed in the appendix such short MS. pieces as seemed more curious, or more proper to give light to the subject, and serve for proofs.

XXIII. *I easily foresee, that in what I have endeavoured to settle in the first book, there will be found difficulties, that throughout all this small performance, there will be observed several mistakes. In carrying it on, I have been often reduced to the case of one travelling all alone through desert and uninhabited places, without any beaten paths, or meeting with any person, that could give him any certain directions in his journey; so if I have sometimes gone astray, it will not surprise me, especially considering the variety of matters treated of in this essay.*

XXIV. *IT remains only now, that I beg some allowance from the English reader, for the style and expression. My chief attention was, to make myself to be understood; and therefore I have all along endeavoured to follow a plain and simple style, without affectation. And though an honourable gentleman of my own country, and another learned English gentleman, were so kind as to revise the language, and to alter such exotick words, or expressions,*

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pressions, as it was natural should drop from me; I doubt not but the English reader will still meet in this essay, with too many marks of my native language and foreign education.

E R R A T A.

In the PREFACE, Page xii. line 5. *for of Britain, read of the North of Britain.*

Page 20. line 24. *for half read part.* P. 48. l. 8 *for nine v. eleven.* P. 52. l. 1. *for passage v. passages.* Ibid. l. 4. *v. is in reality.* P. 132. l. 4. *for H. before G. v. H. after G.* P. 135. in the notes, l. 8. *after of Pitts add in Ireland.* P. 153. l. 6. *add. as we shall, &c.* P. 284. l. 19. *for at v. of.* P. 352. l. 14. *for chances v. chance.* P. 354. in the note, *for Crawford v. Crawford.* P. 383. l. 25. *for four books v. fourth book.* P. 387. in the notes, *for pag. 261. v. 361.* P. 479. in the notes, l. ult. *for c. 3. v. l. 3.* P. 506. l. 24. *for Milesians v. Milesian-Scots.* P. 569. in the notes, l. 6. *for facem v. facem.* P. 621. l. 5. *for P. John XXIII. v. XXII.* P. 645. l. penult. *for sixth cent. v. fourth century.* P. 669. l. 1. *for Carenefs v. Catenefs.* P. 690. l. 22. *for sixty eight years v. eighty six.* P. 698 and 705. in the notes, *for 676. v. 666.* P. 705. in the notes, *for 1621. v. 621.* P. 788. in the notes *v. Malifuis.* P. 789. l. 11. *for xxxij. v. xxxiii.* P. 817. l. 19. *dele SECUNDA PARS.*

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A
CRITICAL ESSAY
ON THE
Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts
OF
BRITAIN, OR SCOTLAND.

The Introduction and Division of this
ESSAY.

THE chief design of this essay on the ancient state of the northern parts of *Britain*, so well known by the name of the kingdom of *Scotland*, being to serve for a foundation to an historical account of the first planting the gospel, and of the progress of the doctrine and discipline of the christian church in those parts of the island: no method appear'd to me more proper for giving light and order to the subject, than to treat separately of each one of the different people who anciently inhabited those parts.

* WHAT ven. *Bede* says of this island in general, that in his time the knowledge of the sublime truths of religion was search'd into and profess'd in five languages of as many different nations, was also true in *Bede's* time, even of those nor-

* *Bed. Hist. lib. i. cap. i.*

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thern parts of the island in particular, which compose now the kingdom of *Scotland*; where *Britains*, *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons* did actually then inhabit; as the *Romans* had done before, and left their language. And as the present inhabitants of *Scotland* are in their several provinces (as I hope it will afterwards appear) the off-spring of these several ancient inhabitants: so the account of the actions, whether civil or religious, of these ancient inhabitants of the north of *Britain* belongs no less to the history of *Scotland*, than that of the *Scots* that came from *Ireland*.

NOR is it singular in the present inhabitants of *Scotland*, to be thus originally descended of several people: since there is not almost any kingdom or state in *Europe*, even of the most polish'd of them, but was originally at least as much a mixture of different nations, whom length of time, the same laws and government, and mutual alliances have by degrees cemented into one body of people. What a mixture of different origins in *Italy*, and in *Rome* it self, almost of all nations? And how few of them now can prove their descent from any ancient *Roman* family? The same may be said of *France*; where there is a mixture of ancient *Gauls*, *Romans*, *Franks*, *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and *Normans*, or *Danes*. The same thing more or less in *Spain*: and in *England*, what a mixture is there of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Franks* and *Flemings*, besides the old *Britains* or *Welsh*? So
'tis

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'tis no disparagement to the present inhabitants of *Scotland* to be in this like to other nations, originally descended of different people.

IN order therefore to clear the way towards what I mainly aim at in this essay, I design in the first place to treat of each of those ancient inhabitants of *Scotland* apart; to give a short account of their settlement in this part of the island, of their government and several revolutions that happen'd among them; as far as I can find light from credible vouchers, till their ceasing at last to bear a particular distinct name of their own; partly by decay, or retiring some of them elsewhere; partly by being incorporated into one nation and government with the other inhabitants, under the common name of *Scots*; reserving withal the particular detail of their actions to the second or historical part of this essay.

• THIS method of treating separately of each people that anciently inhabited *Scotland* will, besides other advantages, very much contribute to clear many debates arising both in civil and ecclesiastical history from the dubious sense of the words *Scots* and *Scotland*. By which, 1st. may be understood that people so called, their descendants and possessions in *Britain*, who coming originally, as is thought, from *Ireland*, settled first on the north-western coast of what is since called *Scotland*, and who in progress of time, by alliances or

4 *The* INTRODUCTION.

conquest, were at last by degrees united with all the other northern inhabitants of *Britain*, of whatever origine, under one name of *Scots*, and in one monarchy called *Scotland*. 2°. By these words *Scots* and *Scotland* may be meant, by anticipation, all those several nations, tho' of different origines, their descendants and possessions, who at any time, in the most ancient ages, had fixt habitations in those northern parts of *Britain*, afterwards called *Scotland*: whose posterity, for any thing we know, still remains, and makes perhaps at this day the greatest part of the present inhabitants of *Scotland*; who for that reason have equal claim to all the great men of whatever origine, who antiently inhabited these northern parts of *Britain*, and distinguished themselves, either by their warlike exploits, or by the sanctity of their lives, as they have to those of the *Scots* that came from *Ireland*.

HOWEVER I shall endeavour in this essay to avoid, as much as I can, this anticipation in naming the several antient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, and shall design them by the names given them by the antient writers, that give the earliest accounts of them: and so I shall call them by the names of *Britains* or *Mæats*, *Caledonians*, *Picts*, *Scots*, &c. as I shall find them design'd. But as to the whole country it self, to avoid the frequent repetition of the *northern parts of Britain*, having no other single name to give it,
but

The INTRODUCTION. 3

but that of *Scotland*, I shall be oblig'd to make use of it sometimes by anticipation. And it ought to suffice, that I give here an advertisement of it, not to be mistaken, as if I pretended that the whole country was called *Scotland*, before the descendants of the *Scots* were fully masters, and in possession of it.

IN the account I intend to give separately of each of these people who anciently inhabited *Scotland*, I shall begin with the *Romans*; because the history of these northern inhabitants can never be distinctly understood without having first a general view or notion of the settlement of the *Romans* in *Britain*, of the division made of it by the *Romans* into provinces, and a more particular and distinct account of the several walls, or fences erected by the *Romans*, to defend the provincials against the northern unconquer'd nations.

IN the 2^d place I shall give an account of the midland *Britains*, those I mean, who dwell betwixt the southern and northern walls, from the first distinct mention we find of them by the name of *Meats*, and of the several revolutions happen'd among them, till they partly retired elsewhere, partly became subject to, and were united into one people with the *Scots*.

3°. I intend to treat more at length of the once famous people of the *Caledonians*, the same called afterwards *Picts*.

4°. I

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4°. I shall enter into a full discussion of all that concerns the *Scots*, and chiefly of the much controverted heads of the antiquity of the settlement, and of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*: and in order to settle that controversy, I shall begin by examining the accounts of the first forty kings given by *Boece*, *Buchanan* and their followers: and these being properly improvements of the scheme of the *Scotish* antiquities laid by *John Fordun*, I shall in the next place examine the grounds of this scheme; and from thence proceed to enquire into the antiquity of the settlement of the *Scots*, first in *Ireland*, and thence into the north western parts of *Britain*; and conclude by endeavouring to fix the precise *Æra* of the beginning of the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

As to the *Saxons*, who were the fifth people, who had anciently possessions in *Scotland*, their history, in as far as it relates to *Scotland*, is naturally intermixt with that of the *Picts* and *Scots*.

I shall divide the whole into two books. In the first I shall give account of the *Romans*, of the *Midland Britains*, and of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*. And in the second I shall treat at length of the *Scots*.

BOOK

BOOK I.

An Account of the Romans, of the Midland Britains, or Mæats, and of the Caledonians, or Picts, in the northern parts of Britain, or Scotland.

CHAP. I.

Of the Romans in Britain.

WE have little knowledge of *Britain* before the *Romans* enter'd it: and the surest accounts that we have of its ancient state being from the *Roman* writers, on occasion of the transactions of the *Romans* in the island, it seems necessary to premise some short account of their settlement in *Britain*, of its divisions by them into provinces, and particularly of the walls and fences which they built on their frontiers, in order to give more light to what we are to treat of the northern parts of the island.

ART. I. *Of the settlement of the Romans in Britain, and divisions of it into provinces.*

JULIUS CÆSAR was the first of the *Romans* that attempted the conquest of *Britain*, about 55 years before the birth of Christ: but he made

made no settlement. The emperor *Claudius* began the conquest of it; and after him by degrees the conquest of the island was carried on in the southern parts, and the conquered *Britains* were civilized and modelled after the form of a *Roman* province. Their conquests were advanced to the northern *Friths* by *Julius Agricola* under *Domitian*: but that frontier was quickly lost; and the emperor *Adrian* was content to settle the marches of the empire in *Northumberland*. Under his successor *Antoninus* they were carried back to the northern *Friths*.

ALL this time it appears, that the *Roman* conquests in *Britain* made but one province. *Ziphilin* from *Dio* gives ground to think that in *Severus's* time they were divided into two provinces, the superior and the inferior. But 'tis certain that before *Valentinian I.* there were four *Roman* provinces in *Britain*, known by the names of *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis* and *Maxima Cæsariensis*. 'Tis thought that *Constantin the Great* was author of this division of provinces: and we have an account of it from (a) *Rufus Festus*, who wrote under *Valentinian I.* In fine, under the same *Valentinian* the general *Theodosius* conquered anew the debateable lands, where the *Midland Britains* or *Meats* dwelt, betwixt the southern and northern walls, and erec-

(a) *Rufi Festi Breviar.*

ted them into a fifth province call'd *Valentia*; and accordingly we find in the (a) *Notitia Imperii*, under *Honorius's* reign, these five provinces in *Britain* under their proper magistrates; and they remain'd much in the same state till the *Romans* abandon'd the island.

BUT the most general division of the *Britains* in the *Roman* times, was into provincials and extra-provincials. The first were those of the south, who became subjects to the *Roman* empire, were govern'd by its laws, reduc'd into provinces, and civiliz'd according to the form of the *Roman* polity and manners. The extra-provincials were those of the north, who never submitted to the *Roman* yoke, but preserv'd their liberty, and continued to live according to their own ancient customs, and were therefore call'd barbarous by the *Romans*. These were particularly the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, on the north side of the *Friiths* of *Glyde* and *Forth*.

THERE was a third sort of *Britains* that dwelt between these two, and inhabited the countries betwixt the southern wall in *Northumberland*, and the northern at the *Friiths*. These were sometimes at liberty, sometimes subject to the *Romans*, and other times over-run by the northern inhabitants of *Britain*, according as the *Romans* were

(a) *Notit. Rom. Imper.* Edit. Labbe, Paris. 1651. pag. 62.

strong in the island, and as the limits of the empire were advanced to the northern wall, or confined to the southern : and therefore I shall call these countries, betwixt the walls, the *Debateable Lands*, and the people *Midland Britains*. They are call'd by *Ziphilin*, from *Dio*, by the general name of *Meata*, and contain'd several lesser people within them : such as the *Ottadini*, *Selgovæ*, *Novantes*, *Damnii*, *Gadeni*, &c. About the year 368, they were, as we observ'd already, by the general *Theodosius* under *Valentinian I.* reduced into a Roman province, by the name of *Valentia*.

'Tis of some importance to remark this general division of the *Britains* into three parts, to wit, the Provincials, the *Meata* or *Midland Britains*, and the *Caledonians* or *Britains* of the north, called afterwards *Picts* : because it will serve to give greater light to what will be afterwards said at large of these two last people, who were the first known inhabitants of what is since called *Scotland*.

ART. II. Of the Roman walls in Britain.

AS to the walls, fences, or barriers, by which the Romans used to secure the frontiers of their conquests in *Britain* against the northern nations, their situation altered frequently, as the Romans were strong in *Britain* and able to maintain or advance their frontiers : and there is a great debate among

among modern writers about the situation of some of these walls; tho' generally all, or almost all agree, that all these fences and walls were built in one or other of these two places, either betwixt *Tine* and *Carlisle* on *Eden*, or betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*.

WE have an account of their having been settled, built or repaired eight or nine different times. 1°. By *Julius Agricola*. 2°. By the emperor *Adrian*. 3°. Under the emperor *Antoninus*. 4°. By the emperor *Severus*. 5°. By *Carausius*, as is reported by the interpolator of *Nennius*. 6°. By the general *Theodosius*. 7°. By orders of *Stilicho*. 8°. Under *Honorius* by the *Britains*. 9°. By *Gallio*. Of each one of which we shall give a short account.

I. *JULIUS AGRICOLA* was the first of the *Romans* that carried on their conquests to *Caledonia*: and there's no dispute about the place which he fortified, intending to fix the marches. (a) *Tacitus* his son-in-law gives us an account from *Agricola's* own relation, that finding the narrow neck of ground betwixt the *Firths* of *Clyde* and *Forth* a proper place to fix the barriers of the empire, he fortified it with fences; so that the countries, to the south of the *Firths*, were to remain subject to the *Romans*; and the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, to the north of them, were by this

(a) *Tacitus vita Agricolaë*, n. 23.

barrier separated as in another island from his new Conquests: this was *A. D.* 81.

II. BUT this frontier was soon lost, and the emperor *Adrian*, *A. D.* 121, having resolved to build a wall about forty years after *Agricola*, to secure the provincials from the unconquer'd nations of the north, thought fit to abandon all the mid-land countries from *Northumberland* to *Caledonia*; and was contented to fix the frontiers eighty miles farther south, than *Agricola* had placed them, and so built his wall betwixt *Newcastle on Tyne* and *Carlisle* on *Eden*, as appears by the dimensions given, of its being eighty miles in length, by (a) *Spartian*; and besides, as *Cambden*, and others remark, by the remains of *Adrian* in the names of places in these parts: nor is the situation of this wall much controverted.

III. (b) THE next wall was built, *A. D.* 138, by *Lollius Urbicus*, under the emperor *Antoninus*. It was built of turf, but fortified, no doubt, from place to place with castles, or stone work. That this wall was seated betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, where *Agricola* had first placed his barrier, seems clear,

(a) *Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret. Spartian in Adrian.*

(b) [Antoninus] *Britannos per Lollium Urbicum Legatum vicit, alio muro cespitio submotis Barbaris ducto. Jul. Capitolin. in Antonin.*

as well from several inscriptions of *Antoninus* and *Lollius Urbicus*, found in those places, as from the expressions of *Capitolinus*, from whom we have the account of this wall; who tells us that *Lollius* built it, after forcing the barbarous nations to give ground: so that the frontiers being thus carried back to the *Friiths*, the debateable lands betwixt the two walls were a-new join'd to the empire.

IV. THE fourth wall was built by the emperor *Severus*, A. D. 210, after he had forced back the *Midlanders* or *Meats*, and the *Caledonians*, who had invaded or over-run several provinces of the empire. *Dio* and *Herodian* give us, on this occasion, a more distinct account of those two northern nations than we had hitherto met with: but of that in its proper place. I shall only remark here, that *Dio* (a) seems to include all the nations betwixt the walls, under the name of *Meatae*, by placing them next to the wall, and after them the *Caledonians*, whose ancient possessions were bounded by the northern *Friiths*: whence follows, as we observ'd elsewhere, that the possessions of the *Meatae* were the debateable lands betwixt the walls, so often over-run alternatively by the *Romans* and northern nations.

TO return now to *Severus's* wall: there is much debate among modern writers about the

(a) *Dio*. pag. 866.

place where this wall was situated. The most general opinion is, that it stood in *Northumberland*, betwixt *Tine* and *Carlisle*, where *Adrian* had formerly built his wall: others will have it to have been seated where *Agricola* had placed the first fences against the northern nations, that is betwixt the two *Fribs* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, where *Antoninus's* wall was erected.

(a) *BUCHANAN*, who is the chief abettor of this last opinion, gives no other considerable reason for it, but that there were conspicuous remains, in his time, (which as yet do subsist) of a *Roman* wall betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*; and inscriptions found, that shew it was a *Roman* work: but that proves only, that there was a *Roman* wall in that place; and we have seen already, that both *Agricola's* fences, and *Antoninus's* wall, were built there; and all the inscriptions found there, prove the wall to have been under *Antoninus*; and never any inscription found in that place of *Severus*: nor does *Buchanan* mention any of his. Besides, we shall see a third wall built there of turf and stone by the *Britains*, A. D. 422.

A more likely proof of *Buchanan's* opinion is drawn from the vulgar editions of *Eutropius*, and another abridgment of the *Roman* history, under the name of *Aurelius Victor*, who both give to

(a) *Buchan.* in *Donald*, I.

Severus's

Severus's wall but XXXII miles in length: whence it would follow, that it was not situate betwixt *Tine* and *Carlisle*, where there are about LXXX miles, considering the various turns and windings, of the wall, from sea to sea; but that it was built betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, where *Buchanan* places it, and where the distance is only about XXX miles.

BUT first, as to that abridgment of the *Roman* history, under the name of *Aurelius Victor*, the author is uncertain, as well as the time he lived in; and the genuine and undoubted work of *Aurelius Victor*, as we shall see presently, gives much the same account of *Severus's* wall, as *Spartian* (a); that it was bounded on each side by the ocean, without any further account of its dimensions.

As to *Eutropius*, tho' the vulgar editions give but XXXII miles to *Severus's* wall, there is just ground to believe that the ancient copies had a C or L before the numerical letters XXXII, since *St. Hierome*, near *Eutropius's* time, who follows him, hath CXXXII. *Orosius*, about the same time, gives the same dimension; and after them, *Cassiodorus*, *Ado*, *Nennius*, and others, who give all CXXXII miles to *Severus's* wall: in which, 'tis highly probable, that the numerical letter L hath been, by error of the transcriber, alter'd into that of C; these two letters being easily confounded

(a) *Spartian*. in *Sever*.

in antient MSS. and there being no place in *Britain*, that hath CXXXII miles of breadth, which hath apparently given occasion to criticks to cut off the C in the editions of *Eutropius*: whereas there's no likelihood of St. *Hierome*'s adding C to the number he found in *Eutropius*.

AMONG the more ancient historians, *Dio* and *Herodian*, who lived near *Severus*'s own time, in their accounts of his reign, make no particular mention of his building a wall, tho' *Dio* (a) speaks in general of the wall that separated the provincials from the northern nations, upon occasion of the *Meate* or *Midland Britains*, who, he says, dwelt next the wall, and the *Caledonians* next to them; from whence would follow necessarily, if *Dio* means in this place the wall built by *Severus*, as 'tis very probable he doth, that it was situate in *Northumberland*, since the *Meate*, according to *Dio*, were border'd by the wall on the one side, and by the *Caledonians* on the other, that is, on the north: and so, the wall he speaks of, must have been on the south of the *Meate*.

S P A R T I A N, who wrote under *Dioclesian*, tho' he marks not expressly either the dimensions, or place of the wall, yet his telling us that it was

(a) *Dio* Edit. Wechel. p. 866.

the greatest (a) ornament of *Severus's* reign, that he had from it the surname of *Britannicus*, and that it was bounded at both ends by the ocean, insinuates plainly enough, that it was not the short wall in *Scotland*, bounded by the *Firths* of *Forth* and *Clyde*, but that of *Northumberland*, above twice as long, and bounded on both sides by the ocean. *Aurelius Victor*, in his true work already mention'd, seems entirely of the same opinion. The passage, where he speaks of the wall, is introduced from a comparison of what *Severus* had done in *Britain* for the security of the empire, with his other great victories over the *Persians*, the *Arabians*, the *Adiabenes*; and then he adds, (b) *His majora aggressus*, &c. *Severus* undertook a nobler work than all that; for having overcome the enemies of the empire in *Britain*, he fortified it against them, by building a wall across the island, bounded at each end by the ocean.

BUT tho' the matter were dubious in others, one would think that the authority of *Bede* (c) should decide in what he attests from the inspection of the remains of the wall, as well as from the tradition of his time, that *Severus's* wall

(a) *Britanniam* (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro, per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad finem oceanum munivit. Unde etiam *Britannici* cognomen accepit. *Spartian. in Sever.*

(b) *Aurel. Victor. de Cæsarib.*

(c) *Bed. lib. 1. c. 12.*

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was built in *Northumberland*: and accordingly this is the uniform sentiment of almost all the modern *British* writers, such as *Usher*, *Cambden*, *Stillingfleet*, *Langhorn*, &c. as well as of our *Scottish* writers, *Fordun*, *Major*, *Boece*, *Chambers*, *Lefly*, and all, except *Buchanan*, whose reasons, as we have seen, prove nothing for his opinion.

BUT the most considerable objection against the situation of *Severus's* wall in *Northumberland*, is drawn from what *Dio* says of *Severus's* treaty with the *Meats* and *Caledonians*; to wit, that he had forced them to peace, because they had lost a considerable part of the country: so the vulgar (*b*) version of *Ziphilin's* abridgment of *Dio* hath it. Now it appears by what is said above, that *Lollius*, under *Antoninus*, had settled the marches of the empire in *Britain* seventy years before, at the *Friiths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*; so that if *Severus's* wall was in *Northumberland*, far from gaining ground on the northern nations, on the contrary it would follow, that he had yielded to them very considerable territories, to wit, all the *debatable* lands from the southern to the northern wall, which had formerly belong'd to the empire.

TO this, I conceive, may be answer'd in the first place, that the *Greek* of *Ziphilin* imports on-

(a) Bed. lib. 1. c. 12.

ly in general, that *Severus* had forced the northern nations to retire from no small territories, meaning those of the *British* provinces, which they had invaded, occupied and ravaged ; for this incursion of the northern nations was, as *Herodian* remarks, the chief pretext or occasion of *Severus's* expedition ; so that his beating out these enemies of the empire of all the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*, seems to be all that this passage of *Dio* or *Ziphilin* imports.

AND as to *Severus's* placing his wall rather in *Northumberland*, than where that of *Antoninus* stood, it may be answer'd, that in the same manner as notwithstanding that *Agricola* had fix'd the marches of the empire at the northern *Friiths*, yet *Adrian*, forty years afterwards, thought it safer to settle them in *Northumberland*, and there built his wall ; because the *Romans*, tho' they look'd upon all betwixt the walls as belonging to them, yet they found these *debateable* lands could not be protected by the short wall betwixt the *Friiths*, from the continual inroads of the northern nations, who easily pass'd over these narrow *Friiths* : so *Severus*, tho' he had chased the enemies out of the *Roman* provinces, and not only subdued the *Meats*, but over-run the *Caledonians*, and forced them to a peace ; yet when it was a question of settling the barriers again, where the strength of the *Roman* forces in *Britain* were to reside, he judged it much safer, as *Adrian* had done, to fix

the wall and garrisons in *Northumberland*; and, no doubt, it was for the same reason, that the chief forces of the empire in *Britain*, which always lay upon the frontiers, might not be at too great distance from the center, but nearer at hand to join the rest of the forces placed up and down in divers stations, and so be able to repulse any intestine commotions or revolts. Besides, that the barriers of the empire being settled in *Northumberland*, did not hinder the *Meats* beyond it, and perhaps even the *Caledonians* from being obliged by *Severus* to promise subjection as a condition of peace: and 'tis like, that the indignity of that treaty oblig'd first the *Caledonians*, and then the *Meats*, to revolt and shake off the yoke immediately upon *Severus's* returning to *York*, (a) as *Dio* relates.

To conclude, there may be, I conceive, a further proof of *Severus's* wall's being situated in *Northumberland*, and not at the *Friiths*, drawn from a passage of *Dio*, who wrote soon after *Severus's* death. *Dio*, or *Ziphilin* from him, informs us, that the *Romans* possess'd in the island of *Britain* at that time only the lesser ^{part} ~~part~~ of the island; *Cujus* (*Britanniæ*) (b) *pars paulo minus quam dimidia Romana erat*: whereas, if *Severus's* wall had been placed betwixt the northern *Friiths*, and

(a) *Dio* p. 867.

(b) *Dio* p. 367.

included the *debateable* lands, the *Romans* would have been in possession of about two thirds of the island; but this is too much on that subject: we proceed now to the other walls.

V. *CARAUSIUS*, who usurped the empire in *Britain*, towards the end of the third century, is said to have also built or repaired the wall, *A. D.* 289; but I find no better authority for this, than that of the interpolator of (a) *Nennius*, who places *Carausius's* wall betwixt *Glyde* and *Forth*, near the river *Caron*.

VI. IN the year 367, the emperor *Valentinian I.* sent over the general *Theodosius* to *Britain*, against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had invaded the *Roman* (b) provinces, and ravaged them for several years. *Theodosius* coming suddenly on them, put them to flight, and having recover'd the *debateable* lands betwixt the two walls, he erected them into a new *Roman* province, by the name of *Valentia*; which made a fifth province in *Britain*, as hath been already remark'd. *Theodosius*, to secure this new province for ever to the empire, fortified again the frontiers, and placed garrisons to defend them against the northern nations. These new fortifications being at the extremity of *Valentia* to the north, could be no other than the fences and

(a) *Nennius*, cap. 19. Edit. Gale.

(b) *Ammian.* l. 27.

walls of *Agricola* and *Antoninus*, betwixt *Clyde* and *Forth*, repaired again, and put in a posture of defence.

VII. IT was also in the utmost bounds of *Valentia*, where *Antoninus's* wall stood, that (a) *Stilicho* caused the marches of the empire to be fortified, *A. D.* 398, against the invasions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who, as *Claudian* relates, had broken loose again, and were destroying the *British* provinces; but *Stilicho* sent over forces, who repuls'd the enemies, and remain'd a safeguard to the frontiers, till (b) recalled by *Stilicho* himself, *A. D.* 402, at the battle of *Pollentum*; so they left the poor provincials a prey to their enemies for many years.

VIII. ABOUT the year 421, the *Romans* call'd in by the *Britains* to their help against the *Picts* and *Scots*, after having beat them out of the *Roman* provinces, upon their return home, order'd the provincials, for their security, to build or repair the wall betwixt them, and the *Picts* and *Scots*. This wall, the *Britains* not being skill'd in that kind of structure, built of turf more than of stone; so it prov'd but of little use to their defence.

(c) *B E D E* gives a distinct account of this wall, that it was situated betwixt the *Firths* of *Clyde* and

(a) *Claudian*, lib. 2. de laudibus *Stilichonis*.

(b) *Claudian*, de Bello *Getico*.

(c) *Bede*, l. 1. c. 12.

Forth,

Forth, and began at a place call'd *Penelun* in *Saxon* and *Penual* in *Pictish*, (*Nennius* calls it *Cenual*, perhaps *Kinnel*;) about two miles distant from *Abercorn*, and ended towards the west at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbritton* on the *Firth* of *Clyde*. *Bede* says that it was very broad and very high, and that the remains of it were in his time. And to this day there are still considerable remains of it to be seen; and this is what *Buchanan* took for *Severus's* wall.

By the situation of this wall it appears, the marches of the *British* provinces continued still at the *Firths*, where they had been settled *A. D.* 370, by the general *Theodosius's* erecting the province of *Valentia*, which remain'd still in possession of the provincial *Britains*, but frequently harrassed and ravaged by the *Picts* and *Scots*.

THESE ravages and oppressions oblig'd the *Britains* about the year 426. to solicit again the assistance of the *Roman* forces; and they being come under the command of *Gallio*, slew great numbers of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and put the rest to flight: and having thus rescued the *Britains*, told them that they could not any more bring over forces to their succour, that therefore they ought to take arms themselves, and train up their people to military discipline; and for a further encouragement to them, the *Romans* caus'd a stately wall to be built, not of turf, as the former, but of stone
eight

eight foot broad and twelve foot high, from sea to sea, betwixt the towns which had been formerly built there to keep off the enemy, and in the same place where *Severus* had formerly built a wall. This the *Romans* caus'd to be built or repair'd on publick expence.

As to the place where this last wall was situated, *Gildas*, the oldest writer that speaks of it, does not precisely mark the place; tho' to any that will consider impartially his expressions, where he speaks of the two last walls, it will appear that this last was in a different place from the former, built or repair'd, as we have seen, *A. D.* 420. He says this last, of the year 426, was built betwixt the towns from sea to sea, that is, bounded on both sides by the ocean, whereas the first was built betwixt two seas or friths. Besides that the author of the *Capitula Gildæ* (a), publish'd by Dr. Gale from an ancient M S. says expressly, that the first of these two last walls was betwixt *Kaer-eden*, a most ancient city, within two miles of *Abercorn* towards the east, and ending at *Alcluyd* or *Dunbritton* towards the west; and that the last wall was at a great distance from the first built in *Northumberland*, and began at *Wall's-end* near *Tinmouth*, and ended at the sea of *Galloway*, that is *Solway Frith*. *Fordun* (b) hath much the same description of both these walls.

(a) Capit. Gild. c. 9. pag. 3. edit. Gal.

(b) Fordun, l. 3. c. 3, & 67.

BUT

BUT nothing is more clear than venerable *Bede* (a), for this last wall's being situated in *Northumberland*; both by his telling it was built in the same place where *Severus's* wall stood, that is in *Northumberland*, as we have shewn above, and more expressly by his informing us that it was hard by the monastery of *Hagulfstæd* or *Hexham*, which stands nigh the ruins of the wall in *Northumberland*. In fine, this is the general opinion of the most learned among the *English* writers, such as *Cambden*, *Langhorn* and *Stillingfleet*.

ONLY *Buchanan* confounds the situation of these two last walls, and supposes they were both placed betwixt the *Frieths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, where he had formerly placed *Severus's* wall, without any other reason, as we remarked in its place, than that there were still remains of a *Roman* work in that place.

THIS singular opinion of *Buchanan's*, as to the placing the last wall betwixt the *Frieths*, is readily embraced by the learned (b) *Usher*, as furnishing a strong argument against the *Scots* being at this time settled in *Britain*. *Usher's* reasons for placing this last wall betwixt the *Scottish Frieths*, and not in *Northumberland* are these conjectures. 1°. That it is not likely, that the *Ro-*

(a) *Bed.* l. 1. c. 12. & l. 3. c. 2.

(b) *Usher Antiq. Brit.* p. 317.

mans would oblige the *Britains* to abandon a tract of ground of about 80 miles (to wit all the countries betwixt the northern and southern walls) which they must have done if they built the last wall in *Northumberland*. To this (a) *Dr. Stillingfleet* gives a very reasonable reply: that in all probability the *Britains* were then willing to let their enemies have the more room to prevent their being disturbed by them; and this so much the more, that the *Romans* had declared to them, they were no more to look for any relief from them against the oppression of these invaders. Besides that the *Romans*, as well as the *Britains*, had reason to suppose, that, at least, the *Picts* or *Caledonians* would never be content nor at rest, till they were left in quiet possession of some part of that tract of ground, of which they had so often before been masters, and that they look'd upon as violently taken from them about fifty years before by the general *Theodosius*, to be erected into a new province. On this account it was very adviseable for the *Britains* to abandon this *debateable* ground, and accordingly, as (b) *Gildas* remarks, as soon as the *Romans* were gone, the enemies took possession of all this tract of ground up to the wall.

2°. *USHER* objects, that it is not likely, that the *Romans* would have put the *Britains* on

(a) *Stillingfl. Antiq. of Brit. Ch.*

(b) *Gild. c. 15. Omnem aquilonalem, extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capeffunt.*

building

building a long wall of 80 miles in length, such as that of *Northumberland*, whereas they might with less forces, time and expence, have built up, or repaired the short wall betwixt the northern *Friiths*; which last would also require fewer hands to defend it.

TO this it is answered, 1°. That in the place where this wall in *Northumberland* was built, there had been already two walls, that of *Adrian*, and that of *Severus*, as we have shown; that there were also towns from place to place built of old; so the labour was less than if it had been quite a new work, the wall being rather to be repaired than built again. 2°. That this wall, according to *Gildas* and *Bede*, was built on publick, as well as private expence by the *Roman* army, as well as by the *Britains*; and so considering the number of workmen, as also the publick contributions, the work was neither laborious nor expensive to particular persons. As to the difficulty of defending a long wall, that requiring more hands than a short one: it is answered, that it was not hands but hearts that failed the *Britains*: and this wall being built *inter urbes*, from town to town, which were nigh one another on these marches, it was not harder to defend this wall than it would have been to defend the northern wall, where we do not read, that the towns were so frequent; so that each town served for a guard to the wall in its neighbourhood.

BESIDES, that the northern wall, as *Bede* takes notice, was of no use at all to keep off the enemies, who leaving it untouch'd, pass'd easily over the narrow *Friiths* : whereas the long wall in *Northumberland* secured all, being built *a mari ad mare*, bounded on each side by the ocean. And this is sufficient to answer *Usher's* conjectures, which after all are not to be put in ballance with *Bede's* authority, which *Usher* owns to be, in the situation of this wall, expressly against his opinion. So that upon the whole, we may conclude, this last wall was built in *Northumberland*.

AFTER the building of this wall, the *Romans* left *Britain*, and never return'd back to it again ; and this concludes their expeditions into this island, as their empire in it had ceased some eighteen years before : and here I shall conclude this short view of their settlement, provinces and walls in *Britain*, necessary for understanding more distinctly the state of the northern nations, the most ancient inhabitants of what is now called *Scotland* : of whom we are now to treat in particular, and first of the *Midland Britains*.

C H A P. II.

*Of the Britains in Scotland, or Midland
Britains.*

A R T. I. *State of the Midland Britains in the
Roman times.*

A MONG the ancient inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, or *Scotland*, the first place, in order of time, is due to the *Britains*. This name, in ancient authors, was common to all the ancient inhabitants of *North*, as well as *South Britain*, even of *Caledonia*, the inhabitants whereof are often call'd simply *Britains* by the first *Roman* writers, before their proper name was commonly known to them; because they dwelt in the island, and resembled in their customs and language the southern *Britains*, before these last were totally subdued by the *Romans*, and civilized by them. Besides the *Caledonian Britains*, who preserv'd their liberty, and never were subject to the *Roman* yoke, there were many of the southern *Britains*, upon the *Roman* invasion, that, to preserve their freedom, fled from their country and possessions, and join'd the *Caledonians*, and became, by degrees, one people with them.

BUT it's neither of those kinds of *Britains* I intend to treat of in this place: I reserve that to the

the dissertation concerning the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*. My intention here is to discourse of those *Midland Britains*, whom *Dio*, or *Ziphilin* from him, call *Meata*, who dwelt betwixt the *Northumbrian* wall and the *Caledonians*, and possess'd the *debaseable* lands betwixt the two walls, which, by the general *Theodosius*, under the emperor *Valentinian I.* were, *A. D.* 370, reduced into a *Roman* province, by the name of *Valentia*. These *Britains*, known by the proper name of *Meata*, included under them several lesser people, such as the *Ottadini*, *Selgova*, *Novantes*, *Damnij*, &c. Their country was commonly the field of battle, betwixt the *Romans* and northern nations; afterwards betwixt the *Saxons* and *Picts*, who had each of them possessions in it, and at last became all a part, as it is still, of the kingdom of *Scotland*, except what lies of it betwixt *Tweed* and *Tine* in *Northumberland*. These people, whom for distinction sake, I shall call *Midland Britains* or *Mæats*, tho' I know not how long they bore that last name after *Dio's* time; these people, I say, from the *Romans* settlement in the island, were sometimes at freedom, sometimes subject to the *Romans*, and oft-times over-run and subjected by the northern unconquer'd nations.

THE *Mæats* were first invaded and subjected, *A. D.* 82, by *Julius Agricola*, who settled the marches of the empire betwixt the two northern *Friths*; but that subjection lasted no longer than
Agri-

Agricola remained in the island, and the *Meats* enjoy'd their liberty under the following emperors till *A. D.* 138, that *Lollius Urbicus*, under *Antoninus*, carried back the marches of the empire to the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*: but that lasted also but a short time; for we find, that under the emperor *Commodus*, (a) about *A. D.* 183, both the *Meats* and *Caledonians* had broken in upon the empire; and after harrassing the provinces, kill'd a *Roman* general that opposed them, and tho' repuls'd by the general *Marcellus*, they continued in arms till *Severus* the emperor came himself in person, *A. D.* 208, into *Britain* against them.

SEVERUS over-run both the *Meats* and *Caledonians*, and exacted submission of them; but he was not well return'd to *York* when first the *Caledonians* (as *Dio* remarks) and then the *Meats* shook off the yoke. *Severus* died soon after, and his son *Caracalla* left the *Meats* as well as *Caledonians* at liberty, and return'd home; and from that time forward it appears the *Caledonians* possess'd themselves of a part of the *Meats* lands, or rather united to the *Meats* shared in their possessions to the south of the *Friths*, till *Theodosius* reduced that country, as we remarked, into a province, *A. D.* 370, and from thenceforth the *Meats* became subject to the *Romans*: tho' it appears that country

(a) *Dio*, lib. 72. p. 820.

was continually harassed by the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, as also by the *Scots*. We shall observe elsewhere that the *Picts* or *Caledonians* had still a claim to a part of it, and about *A. D.* 426, after the building the last wall, and the *Roman* forces final retreat, the *Picts* settled at least in all the southern parts of the *Meats* country, and took possession of it as their own, up to the *Northumbrian* wall. The *Meats* or *Midland Britains* becoming either subject to or united with the *Picts*, and retiring towards the more western parts, had their chief seat at *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbritton*.

BESIDES these *Midland Britains*, formerly call'd *Meate*, who dwelt in *Valentia*, it cannot be doubted, but numbers of the southern, or provincial *Britains* retired, and took shelter with them upon the *Saxons* invasion, after the middle of the fifth century; and the *Saxons* incroaching daily more on the *Britains*, and possessing themselves by force and great cruelty of all the best provinces of *South Britain*, forcing the ancient inhabitants to abandon their country, and seek refuge either in the extremities of the island, or even out of it.

ART. II. Of the kingdom of the *Midland Britains*.

IT appears by the testimony of ancient writers, that the *Midland Britains* had for several ages not only a dwelling, but a little kingdom of their own,

own, call'd *Regnum Cambrense*, or *Cumbrense*, extending on the western coast from *Dunbritton* and the northern wall, to the southern wall in *Northumberland*; and that the chief seat of it was that impregnable rock, or castle, call'd *Alcluyd*, *Areclud*, *Petra Cloithe*, the same that is now call'd *Dunbritton* from them.

(a) *JOCELINE*, who wrote in the twelfth age the life of St. *Kentegern*, or St. *Mungo*, dedicated to *Joceline*, bishop of *Glasgo*, (who died A. D. 1199) calls these possessions of the *Britains* in the west of *Scotland*, *Regnum Cambrense*, and says this kingdom, in former times, was extended from the *Northumbrian* wall to the *Scotish* sea of *Forth*, or *Clyde*; that is, from the southern wall to the northern: and what the preface to the ancient (b) chartulary of *Glasgo* hath of the founding that see, insinuates the same.

(a) *Diocesis vero episcopatus ejus [S. Kentegerni] secundum limites Cambrensis regni extendebatur; quod utique regnum sicut vallum quondam a Severo principe a mari, usque ad mare . . . & usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit, &c. Joc. vita & S. Kentegerni, MS. Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. D. VIII.*

(b) In *Cumbria* itaque regione quadam inter *Angliam* & *Scotiam* sita; fide catholica in illis climatibus exuberante & propagante; domestici fidei ac procures regni cum rege provincie co-operante in honore Dei & sancte Marie pie genetricis, ecclesiam *Glasguensem*, sedem scilicet pontificalem *Cumbrensis* regionis, fundaverunt. *Præfatio Chartul. Glasg. sive inquisitio de possessionibus ecclesie Glasg. Fol. 10. MS. in collegio Scotor. Paris.*

. F T H A T

THAT the *Britains* of those parts had proper kings or princes of their own, is likewise proved from the aforesaid, and other ancient Monuments. The life of *St. Gildas*, publish'd by (a) *F. Mabillon*, from a manuscript of the library of the abbey of *Fleury*, gives account that in the fifth age *Gildas* was born at *Arclyd*, or *Dunbritton*; that his father *Caunus*, others call him *Navus*, was king of that country, and he was succeeded by his son *Hoel*.

ST. *ÆLRED*, abbot of *Riewal*, in the life which he wrote of *St. Ninian*, about *A.D. 1150*, speaking of these western parts of *Scotland*, where *St. Ninian* was born, says that it was certain, not only by the testimony of histories, but by the memory of men, that these western countries had a proper king of their own till the end of the *Saxon* or *English* times, that is, till the *Norman* invasion; *usque ad novissima Anglorum tempora, proprium habuisse regem, non solum historiarum fide, sed & quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur.* (b)

(c) *JOCELINE* also, in the above-mention'd life of *St. Mungo*, tells that in *St. Mungo's* time, in the sixth age, *Marken* was king, other-

(a) *Vita S. Gildæ in actis Benedictinis*, Tom. I.

(b) *Vita S. Niniani per Ælredum*, M S. Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. D. III.

(c) *Jocelin. vita S. Kentegenni*, cap. 22, 31.

wife *Marcus*; by whom the saint being ill used, retired to *Wales*, but return'd back to *Glasgo*, being invited by the pious king *Rederic*, or *Roderic*, one of *Marken's* successors.

BUT of this king *Rederic* we have an undoubted account from St. *Adamnan* (a), in St. *Columba's* life, who relates that this *Rederic* was son to *Tothail*; that he was a particular friend of St. *Columba*, and that he reigned in the sixth age at *Dunbritton*, apud *Petram Cloythe*.

(b) *LANGHORN* gives us a series of seven or eight kings of these *Midland Britains*, who lived after this *Rederic*, succeeding one another, down to *Dummael*, about the middle of the tenth age: but however dubious that succession may be, we are assured from better authority, that the *Britains* (c) were in possession of *Alcluyd*, or *Dunbritton*, till A. D. 756, that *Egbert* king of the *Bernitian Saxons*, and *Oengus* king of the *Picts*, took it from them on conditions.

AFTERWARDS, this country of *Clydesdale* and *Galloway* became a prey to the *Picts*, *Danes*, *Scots*, and *Saxons*; and the mixture of so many nations with their daily wars, one against another, obliged

(a) *Adamnan. vita S. Columbæ Abbatis*, l. 1. c. 15.

(b) *Langhorn de regn. Angl. ad calcem. Idem p. 239.*

(c) *R. Houeden Chr. ad hunc annum.*

many of the inhabitants to leave their country, and reduced the rest of them to that state of barbarity and anarchy, which in the time of king *Alexander I.* his brother prince *David*, afterwards king, found among them, and began to put a remedy to these disorders, by resettling the episcopal see of *Glasgo*, as it is related in the preface to the old chartulary (a) of that church.

THERE'S no doubt but the frequent incursions of so many enemies, and their oppression, may have obliged some of the *British* inhabitants of these parts to retire elsewhere, as *Humphry Lbuid* (b) says they did in the ninth age, and as it is mention'd by the aforesaid preface of the chartulary of *Glasgo*; but it is also certain, that many of these *Britains*, who were now call'd *Welch, Walenses*, did remain in or about *Clydesdale, Galloway*, and other western countries of the diocese of *Glasgo*, not only after the time that *Humphry* fixes their transmigration, but that even down to the twelfth age they were still known in the diocese of *Glasgo*, by the name of *Welch, Walenses*, as a distinct people, tho' long before subject to the kings of *Scotland*.

THAT the *Welch*, or *Britains*, were still inhabitants of *Clydesdale*, or the adjacent countries, in the year 875, appears by what *Afferius*, the *Saxon* chronicle, and other ancient writers relate of

(a) Chartular. Glasg. Fol. 1.

(b) Ludd. Fragment. Brit. Descrip.

Halfden the Dane, with his army, their incursion that year upon the *Picts* and *Stratcludenses*, as *Afferius* calls them, or *Stratclad-Weales*, as the *Saxon* chronicle relates. That this incursion was not on *Britains*, or *Welch*, in *Flintshire*, as *Cambden* interprets it, but on those in *Scotland*, seems manifest, by what all ancient *English* writers, that speak of this incursion, relate of *Halfden's* march. That the *Danish* army then about *Tine* divided in two bodies, whereof the one went southward, the other northward, commanded by *Halfden*; that this last army ravaged and burnt, on their march, *Northumberland* and *Holy Island*, which was not in their march to *Flintshire*, but in that to *Scotland*; and then they add, that they attack'd the *Picts* and *Stratcluds*, or *Stratclud Welch*, joyning them both in one incursion or expedition, as a neighbouring people: by which I think it is evident, that these inhabitants of *Stratclud*, or *Clydesdale*, were not a people dwelling on the little river *Clud* in *Flintshire*, above a hundred miles from *Galloway*, which, about these times, was the chief seat of the *Picts*, but a people dwelling about *Clyde*, in the west of *Scotland*, the ancient seat of the *Britains*, and in the neighbourhood of the *Picts*.

ART. III. *The Walenses, or remains of the Midland Britains in the western parts of Scotland, incorporated with the Scots.*

BUT we have as yet more evident proofs, that the remains of the old *Midland Britains* were,
even

even in the twelfth age, inhabitants of the diocese of *Glasgo*, and known there by the name of *Walenses* (*Welch*, a common name to all that spoke the *British* language) as a distinct people: we have, I say, proof of this from authentick charters of our kings *Malcolm IV.* and *William*, recorded in the ancient chartulary of *Glasgo*, which are address'd to their subjects of the diocese of *Glasgo*, in this tenor; (a) *Francis & Anglicis, Scottis & Galwejenfibus, & Walensibus, & omnibus ecclesie S. Kentegerni de Glasgo, & ejusdem episcopi parochianis.* 1°. It's clear these charters, or precepts, for paying the tithes, are address'd to the diocesans of *Glasgo* only. 2°. It is certain that the diocese of *Glasgo*, tho' formerly it contain'd *Cumberland* in *England*, was extended only to the borders of *Scotland* in these kings time, and ever since the erection of the seat of *Carlisle*, A. D. 1133; so there were at this time inhabitants of all these nations within the diocese of *Glasgo*, and they are otherwise known in history. By *Franci* are understood the *French* and *Normans*, whereof several families had obtained possessions and establishments of our kings in this diocese, and other parts of their kingdom. The *Anglici* are the remains of the *Saxons*, settled here. The *Galwejenfes* were most part *Picts*, as we shall observe; and the *Walenses* could be no other than the *Welch*, or remains of the old *Midland Britains*, still distinguish'd

(a) Chartul. vit. Glasg. Fol. 52, &c.

from the rest of the inhabitants by their language, and as yet known by the distinct name of *Welch*, given in those days to all that spoke that language in *Britain*. And *Buchanan* (a) informs us, at least he seems plainly to import, that as yet, in his time, many of the inhabitants of *Galloway* spoke the *Welch*, or *British* language, which was their native tongue: and I have heard that some of the commonalty of that country, in the remote creeks of it, continue as yet to speak a particular language, different from the vulgar tongue of the *Scots*; but I could get no certain information of it.

HOWEVER, since the twelfth age, we have no farther mention of the *Walenses*, or *Welch*, in those parts as a distinct people, they being insensibly so united with, and incorporated into one people, with the rest of the inhabitants of that country, that in the following ages they appear'd no less eclips'd or vanish'd, than if they had all left the country; and thence come the expressions of *Luddus's* fragment of the *British* antiquities, and that of the preface to the chartulary of *Glasgo*, that the remains of the old *Britains*, or *Welch*, in the

(a) Sequitur in eodem latere, & litore occidentali Gallouidia: quam vocem & Scotis & Vallis Gallum significare est perspicuum, ut cui alteri a Gallo, alteri a Vallo nomen dedere. Valli enim Wallowithiam eam appellant. Ea magna ex parte patrio sermone adhuc utitur. *Buchanan*. lib. 2. fol. 21. edit. Arbuth.

western parts of *Scotland*, had been, by the invasions and ravages of the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Danes*, forced to leave their country.

BESIDES, that these western countries, where the *Britains* dwelt, as well as the rest of the kingdom, having been by *St. David*, and the following kings, daily more polish'd by wholesome laws, and reduced to a regular form of government, the inhabitants, tho' of different origines, were by degrees cemented together, and with the *Scots*, into one body of people: and from the eleventh age, downwards, the *Saxon*, or *English* tongue, being become the language of the court, both because all our kings, from *Malcolm Keanmore*, downward, till king *Alexander II.* had been all bred up some time in *England*, and learned the language, and all of them married *English* princesses; and because many of their great men, not only the *Saxons* and *Normans* that came in from *England* to *Scotland*, under the reigns of these kings, but others, following their example, spoke the *English* tongue, as many of the inhabitants in the southern parts had done before; and thus the *English* language daily prevailing, wore out by degrees the *Welsh* language in the west; as it did the *Pictish* all over; and daily reduces the old *Scotish*, or *Gaelick*, to narrower bounds: so all distinctions of the old *Britains*, or *Welsh*, in the western parts of the kingdom, from the rest of the *Scots*, being wore off, the whole inhabitants of these parts came by degrees

degrees only to be known by the name of *Scots*, common to the rest of the subjects of the kingdom; and the different families have been of a long time so interwoven, if I may say so, by mutual communication and intermarriages, during the space of five hundred years, under the name of *Scots*, that it is no wonder that they cannot now distinguish their origines, but look on themselves as *Scots*, and as having always been so.

BUT that hinders not that great numbers of them are originally *Britains*, and perhaps many more of them of *British* extraction, than of *Scotish*. Hence the inhabitants of these countries, tho' now, and of a long time, reputed *Scots*, may claim, by as just a title, St. *Ninian*, St. *Patrick*, St. *Gildas*, St. *Mungo*, and other ancient natives of these countries, famous in former ages, for their countrymen, as if these great men had been all descended of the *Scots*.

C H A P. III.

Of the Caledonians, or Picts.

I AM now come to the second inhabitants of *North Britain*, in order of time, the ancient, warlike, and once most powerful people of the *Picts*, or *Caledonians*, who preserved their liberty against

gainst all the power of the *Roman* empire, at the height of its grandeur. I shall endeavour to be the more particular in the account of this ancient people, that nothing is more important for setting in a due light the ancient state of *Scotland*; and that, I hope, it will appear that the present inhabitants of that kingdom, are much more concern'd in the ancient *Picts*, than their modern writers give them to understand.

TO give this subject all the clearness I can, I shall reduce it to the following heads, and treat, 1°. Of the antiquity of the settlement of the *Caledonians* in *Britain*. 2°. Of the occasion of the name of *Picts* being afterwards given to them. 3°. Of their origine, and whence they came to *Britain*. 4°. Of their language. 5°. Of the extent of their dominions in *Britain*. 6°. Of the nature of their government. 7°. Of the series of their kings. 8°. Of the union of their kingdom with that of the *Scots*. 9°. Of the continuation of their name and race, till they were incorporated into one people, and under one name with the *Scots*.

ART. I. *Of the antiquity of the settlement of the Picts in Britain; that they were the same as the Caledonians, and the most ancient and first known inhabitants of the northern parts of the island.*

MODERN criticks are divided in their opinion, about the antiquity of the settlement of the
Picts

Picts in *Britain*: some looking on them as new inhabitants, long after the peopling the northern parts of the island; others esteeming them the first known inhabitants, and the offspring of the ancient *Britains* of the north, so well known during the times of the *Romans*, by the name of *Caledonians*, so called from their country *Caledonia*, which, according to the *Roman* writers, included all these northern countries of *Britain*, separated from the southern by the *Friiths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*.

THAT the *Picts* were not a foreign people come in upon more ancient inhabitants, but the first known people of the north of *Britain*, and originally *Britains* of the north, is what I intend here to establish, as being grounded both on the testimonies of the *Roman* histories, from whom we have the most ancient accounts of them; as also on that of *Bede*, tho' the abettors of the *Picts* being a quite different people from the *Caledonians*, draw their chief arguments from *Bede*, which shall be examined.

IT is agreed on, that the most ancient writer that gives us any distinct account of the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, is *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*; and it appears from him, that they were look'd upon as the most ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, since *Tacitus* (a), speaking of them, says it was uncertain

(a) Tacit. vit. Agric. p. 231. Rutilæ Caledoniam inhabitantium comæ, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant.

44. *Of the Caledonians, or Picts.*

whether they were *advena* or *indigenæ*, tho' he inclines to think they came originally from the neighbouring countries call'd *Germany*. It must be also granted, that they were, in *Tacitus's* time, very populous: since they soon made up an army of thirty thousand men, able to dispute their ground with the *Roman* forces so well disciplin'd, and commanded by so able a general as *Agricola*. It is likewise certain, that tho' the *Romans* had the better of the *Caledonians*, they neither destroy'd them, nor reduced their country into provinces, and that the fruit of their victory was lost, as soon as *Agricola* left the island; that they continued, long after that, so numerous and formidable enemies to the *Romans*, that, far from attacking them again, the *Romans* were obliged, *A. D.* 124, under *Adrian*, and 138 under *Antoninus*, emperors, to erect walls and trenches to protect the *Roman* provinces from the inroads of the *Caledonians*; that they had broke thro' these walls, *A. D.* 183, in the reign of *Commodus*, and ravaged the provincials; that notwithstanding the advantages which *Ulpus Marcellus*, sent by *Commodus*, had over them, they broke in again upon the *Roman* provinces; so that, *A. D.* 208, the emperor *Severus* himself went with the strength of the *Roman* army against them, and after the loss of fifty thousand *Roman* soldiers, in over-running their country, he was content at last to treat with the *Caledonians* and *Meats*, and erect a new wall for stopping their inroads: and twenty years after *Severus's* death, the

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Caledonians were look'd upon as such formidable enemies, that *Dio* (a) tells us, in his account of the disposition of the *Roman* legions, about the year 230, that the *Romans* kept two legions on the borders, against these unconquer'd *Britains*; whereas one legion sufficed to keep all the rest of the *Britains* in subjection.

By all this it is evident that hitherto, that is, till about the middle of the third age, the *Caledonians* far from being exhausted, or weakened by their wars against the *Romans*, continued still a people as formidable to the empire as ever. So there was no place for new inhabitants to come in upon their ruins, and people their desert country; and the *Caledonians* appear all along hitherto too jealous of their liberty, to suffer foreigners to encroach upon them; as is pretended by those (b) writers that would make the *Picts* a new people, come in about the third age, and settled in *Caledonia*: because we do not meet with the name of *Picts* given to the Inhabitants of *Caledonia*, till about the end of the third age, or the beginning of the next. We shall afterwards (when we examine the origine of the name of *Picts*, ART. III.) give the reason why that name was first given to the ancient *Caledonians*, precisely towards the end of the third age, without any alteration among them.

(a) Dio l. 55. p. 564.

(b) Stillingfleet's Antiq. Brit. Ch. p. 240, 241.

BUT

BUT to prove now directly that thoſe called in the end of the third, and in the following ages, by the new name of *Piſts*, were not a new people lately ſettled in the iſland, but the ſame called hitherto *Britains* of *Caledonia* or *Caledonians*, we ſhall begin with the *Roman* writers who lived in thoſe times.

DIO, (a) in the account he gives of *Severus's* expedition againſt the northern unconquered nations, calls the country *Caledonia*, and the people *Caledonians*, to whom he joins their neighbours the *Mæats*. *Herodian* (b) in his account of the ſame expedition, written about *A. D.* 240. calls the ſame inhabitants of *Caledonia* ſimply *Britains*, but he deſcribes them *Piſts*, or painted, in theſe words *They mark their bodies with various pictures of all manner of animals, and therefore they cloath not themſelves, leſt they hide the painted outside of their bodies*. This deſcription that *Herodian* gives of theſe warlike *Britains* or *Caledonians*, agrees perfectly with that which *Claudian* in the end of the next age gives of them by the name of *Piſts*, and ſhews that *Herodian A. D.* 240. and *Claudian* about the year 400. had both the ſame people in view, and by conſequence, that the *Caledonians*

(a) Dio edit. Wechel, p. 866.

(b) Herodian, lib. 3.

and *Piſts* were one and the ſame. For thus *Claudian* (a) deſcribes them.

—ferroque notatas

Perlegit exanimis Piſto moriente figuras.

and in another place giving account of the general *Theodoſius's* victories, he ſpeaks thus of the *Piſts*. (b)

Ille leves Mauros, nec falſo nomine Piſtos

Edomuit—

where it is to be remarked, that *Claudian* ſays they were not without reaſon called *Piſts*, or painted *Britains*, intimating evidently that their cuſtom of painting, or marking themſelves was the cauſe of the *Romans* giving them that name; but this will more clearly appear when I come to ſpeak afterwards of the occaſion of their getting that name precisely in the end of the third age.

2°. THE firſt *Roman* writers that call the inhabitants of *Caledonia* by the name of *Piſts*, in the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth age, aſſure us at the ſame time, that theſe very people, whom they call *Piſts*, were one and the ſame with the *Caledonians* (c). *Eumenius* the orator, in his panegyrick to *Conſtantius*, A. D. 297. is the firſt writer extant who calls the *North Britains* by the name of *Piſti*; and the ſame author in ano-

(a) *Claudian de bello Getico.*

(b) *Claud. Paneg. in. 3. Conſ. Honor.*

(c) *Panegyrici veteres.*

ther oration, pronounced nine years afterwards in preſence of the emperor *Constantine*, *A. D.* 308. tells us, the *Caledonians* were a part of the *Piſts*. *Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Piſtorum.* By which, as we ſee, that as the *Caledonians* were *Piſti* or painted, ſo there were alſo other people of the northern parts of *Britain*, who for the ſame reaſon bore the ſame name of *Piſti*, to wit, the reſt of the unconquered nations of the north. And this is further confirmed and cleared by (a) *Ammian Marcellin*, in his hiſtory, written towards the middle or latter end of the fourth age, who is the ſecond author that ſpeaks of the *Piſts*, and tells us alſo that the *Caledonians*, or as he calls them, the *Dicaledonians*, were one part of the *Piſts* or painted nations, and the *Vecturiones* another. From all this it ſeems clearly to follow, that the people who began firſt in the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth age, to be called *Piſts* by the *Roman* writers, were not new inhabitants in the iſland, but all one, and the ſame ancient inhabitants of theſe northern unconquer'd provinces, ſo well known in former ages by the name of *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of *Caledonia*.

3°. My third proof of the *Piſts* being not (new) inhabitants, but of their being themſelves the moſt ancient and firſt known inhabitants of the northern

(a) *Ammian. lib. 27. p. 346. l. 30.*

parts of *Britain*, is, from *Bede*, in the account he gives us of the first settlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, from the common tradition in his time. After having told us that the first inhabitants of the south parts of *Britain* came from *Armorica*, (now call'd *Little Britain* in the *Gauls*, and settled in the south parts of the island) he adds, that whilst they were multiplying and spreading themselves from the south of the island, the *Picts* came into *Britain*, and took possession of the north: his words are, (a) *Et cum plurimam insule partem (incipientes ab Austro) possedissent (Britones) contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia (ut perhibent) longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, &c.* and after telling us, that they first landed in *Ireland*, and not finding a settlement there, they came over to the north of *Britain*, and establish'd themselves: *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti habitare per septentrionales Insule partes coeperunt: nam austrina Britones occupaverant.* From which passages it seems plainly to follow, 1°. As to the antiquity of the *Pictish* settlement in *North Britain*; that it was not very long after the first plantation of the southern parts thereof, since these first inhabitants were, but as yet, taking possession of the island; and tho' they had already planted with inhabitants a good part of it, beginning from the south, they were not yet multiply'd so as to spread to the north. 2°. That the northern parts of the

(a) *Bede* l. 1. c. 1.

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island, where the *Picts* settled, were as yet uncultivated, and void of inhabitants when they came in, the *Britains* having only taken possession of the southern parts. *Nam austrina Britones possederant.*

THIS, I conceive, to any impartial man that considers attentively the text of *Bede*, will appear to be his meaning: and all I pretend to shew by it is, not that any certain proof can be drawn from an author so late as *Bede*, for the first plantation of the island; but only that it was the current opinion of the natives, in *Bede's* time, that the people who in his time were known by the name of *Picts*, were the first and most ancient inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, which is sufficient to confute any other writers, posterior to *Bede*; especially when it does not appear that they had been at greater pains to inform themselves, than *Bede* seems to have been at. So that what we find of the *Picts* coming into *Britain*, only after the times of christianity, (a) in some of the *English* or *British* writers of later ages, copying one another, and all originally from *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, or such other writers, ought to be look'd upon, if not as altogether fabulous, yet at the best that they were only foreign colonies coming in upon the *Picts*, long after their first settlement in *Britain*: tho' what we remark'd

(a) Usser. Brit. Ant. p. 303, 304, 308.

already, and shall have occasion to relate more at length, of the number and strength of the *Picts*, or *Caledonians*, in the three first ages of christianity, seems to leave no room for it.

By all we have said, I hope it is sufficiently proved, that the *Picts* were not new inhabitants upon a more ancient people, but the first known inhabitants of the north of *Britain*; and by consequence, the same so famous in the *Roman* historians, by the name of *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of *Caledonia*.

IT remains now to make this system agree with other passages of *Bede*, which are the chief arguments of those (a) writers who pretend that the *Picts* are not the ancient inhabitants of *Britain*, nor the same as the *Caledonians*; but a people quite different, come in long after, about the third age, upon the decay of the *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of the north, exhausted by their wars with the *Romans*. It is then objected, that in *Bede's* opinion, the *Picts* could not be the *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of the north, since he never gives them those names, but on the contrary every where supposes or describes the *Picts* as a people quite different from the *Britains* in their origine, in their language, in their customs, &c.

(a) Stillingfleet's Ant. of Brit. Ch. p. 240, 241.

BUT if *Bede's* passages be well consider'd, the times distinguish'd, and all equivocal terms removed, it will, I hope, appear that *Bede's* account is in reality no ways inconsistent, but agrees with the *Roman* writers, who give us the earliest accounts of the first inhabitants of the north of *Britain*.

I shall examine afterwards, apart, what relates to the country whence the *Picts* came originally, and what concerns their language. I am here only to consider the objections in general, drawn from *Bede*, against the *Picts* being in ancient times the same as the *Caledonians*, or a part of the *Britains*.

AND first, it is objected, that *Bede* never calls this northern people by the name of *Caledonians*; but that only proves, that *Bede*, who wrote in the eighth century, was so little acquainted with some *Roman* writers, that he never once mentions that the northern parts of *Britain* were call'd *Caledonia*: by which it appears, that he had not seen either *Dio*, or *Tacitus*, &c. but took his informations from later writers, and from people of his own time. In a word, he generally supposes that the inhabitants had, in all former ages, bore the same names they were known by in his: so with him, the inhabitants of *North Britain*, called *Picts* long before his time, are call'd *Picts* at their first coming to plant the north
of

of *Britain*; so also in his time the inhabitants of *Ireland* were promiscuously call'd *Scots*, and therefore he calls them so at the time he supposes that the *Picts* first settled in *Britain*; but his not calling the *Picts* by the name of *Caledonians*, proves no more their not having had originally that name, and being the same people, than his never calling their country *Caledonia* proves that the north of *Britain* was never so call'd.

2dly, IT is objected, that not only *Bede* never calls the *Picts* by the name of *Caledonians*, or of *Britains*, but that he all along treats of the *Britains* and *Picts* as two people entirely distinct and opposite. In order to clear this, it must be observ'd, that the name of *Britains*, apply'd to the inhabitants, may have several distinct meanings, or applications, as hath been elsewhere here observ'd. 1°. *Britains* in general denote all the ancient inhabitants of the island of *Britain*, whencesoever they came, and wheresoever they settled at first in the island, whether in the south or the north. In this sense, the inhabitants of *Caledonia*, or of *North Britain*, (call'd afterwards *Picts* by the *Romans*, about the end of the third age) were, both before and after that time, frequently call'd *Britains* by the *Roman* writers (a), as being equally inhabitants of *Britain*, as well as those of the south: and in the same sense *Bede* himself, who

(a) Tacitus, Herodian, &c.

never

never calls the whole island by any name but that of *Britain*, would have made no difficulty to have call'd all the inhabitants of the north, as well as those of the south, by the same name, if the obligation to speak the common language of his time, and call things by the names then most in use, had not obliged him, for clearness sake, to call each people by the names they were then, and many ages before, best known by. 2°. By *Britains*, or *Britons*, are meant those inhabitants of the southern parts of the island, on this side the *Fritbs*, who became subject to the *Romans*, and were by them reduced into provinces, and therefore known by the name of provincial *Britains*; who, upon the *Romans* retiring out of the island, in the beginning of the fifth age, being sadly overrun by the unconquer'd nations of the north, call'd in the *Saxons* to their aid, and were soon after master'd by them, and forced to retire for shelter, some to *Wales*, others to *Clydesdale*, others to *Britany* in *France*. In this sense the *Picts*, or inhabitants of *North Britain*, not only were not *Britains*, but were ever, since these *Britains* became subject to the *Romans*, their constant enemies. And it is in this sense that *Bede* makes use of the name of *Britains*, and treats of the *Picts* as a people quite distinct from them.

WHAT is said here of the distinction of *Britains* and *Picts* in *Bede's* time, may, in some measure, answer the same objections drawn from the
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the manner after which *Gildas*, long before *Bede's* time, speaks of these two people; with this addition, that *Gildas* speaks of the *Piets* with so much the more invidious characters and bitter expressions than *Bede*, because *Gildas* look'd on the *Piets* and *Scots* as the first authors of all the calamities which the poor *Britains* suffer'd in his time, from the cruelty and ravages of the *Saxons*, whose getting a footing in the island was wholly owing to the frequent invasions made on the *Britains* by the *Piets* and *Scots*.

AFTER all, by what we have said in this article, and what we have further to add in the next, to prove that the *Piets* were not, as Dr. *Stillingfleet* (a) and others suppose, a foreign people, come in upon the decay of the *Caledonians*, but only a different name given to the *Caledonians*, and other unconquer'd people of the north of *Britain*, and by consequence the most ancient inhabitants of these parts; by all this, I say, I do not pretend, that from the first settlement of the *Caledonians* in those northern parts, they never received any strangers among them in lesser numbers: for besides that it cannot be doubted, but several of the *Britains* of the south, to be free of the *Roman* yoke, and preserve their liberty, retired and joined the *Caledonians* in their wars against the *Romans*, and were incorporated in one state

(a) *Stillingfleet*, p. 240.

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and body of people with them; it is not unlikely, that the stories of the three comings in of the *Picts* to *Britain*, mention'd by *Usher* (a), from writers of later ages, (in case there be any real ground for them of better credit, and more ancient than *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*) may have been occasion'd by some little colonies coming in to them from the northern continent, and receiv'd by them as auxiliaries: but all those, if such there were, being far inferior in number to the ancient *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, have been incorporated into one body of people with them, without any derogation of the antiquity of the settlement of the ancient inhabitants, or causing any alteration in their ancient name; in the same manner as we see the many *Saxon*, *Norman* and other families, who, especially in the eleventh and twelfth ages, came into *Scotland*, were received by our kings *Malcolm Keanmore*, his children and successors, and got lands and possessions from them, were so incorporated into one people with the rest of the subjects, that were it not for the address made use of by our kings *Edgar*, *Alexander I.* *David I.* *Malcolm*, and *William*, in some of their charters, which bear *Anglis*, *Francis*, as well as *Scotis & Galwejenfibus*, and the accounts we have from the history of the times, and the private writings of some families: were it not, I say, for these records, all these families, tho' originally come from *France*, *England*,

(a) *Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 303, 304, 308.*

or other countries, are, some ages ago, so cemented with the rest of the *Scots*, that far from making any alteration of the name of the *Scots*, they have lost their own original name, and many of them the memory of the country of their origine; are equally reputed *Scots*, as the most ancient inhabitants, and are only known by that name: and as the coming in of these strange families derogated nothing from the antiquity of the *Scots*; so neither did any foreign colonies derogate from the antiquity of the *Caledonians*, in case any such did come into them.

ART. II. *Of the occasion of the name of Picts given to the Caledonians, or Britains of the north.*

THAT the people who began to be call'd *Picts* in the third, and after-ages, were truly and properly the same people with the *Caledonians*, and other ancient *Britains* of the north, will as yet further and more distinctly appear, by examining the origine, or first rise and occasion of the name of *Picti*, or *Picts* in *Britain*; and shewing that it was not originally the proper name of the people so call'd, brought in with them to the island, or a name which they gave themselves, but a general denomination given by the *Romans*, in or about the third age of christianity, to the *Caledonians*, and not to them alone, but to all the ancient unconquer'd inhabitants of *North Britain*, from their continuing the custom of painting,

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or

or marking figures on their bodies, as a mark distinguishing them from the provincial, or conquer'd *Britains*, who, upon submitting to the *Roman* laws and polity, had laid aside the use of painting, with the rest of their former customs, esteemed barbarous by the *Romans*. And this name of *Picti* being once fix'd by the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, that spoke the *Latin* tongue, and appropriated to the northern unconquer'd inhabitants, was afterwards retain'd, with little alteration, in the vulgar tongues by the *Britons* and *Saxons*, as were the proper names of cities; and the same name was express'd in the equivalent term of *Cruithneach* by the *Irish* and ancient *Scots*: all which, I hope, will clearly appear by the following observations.

1°. IT is to be remark'd, that before the *Romans* enter'd *Britain*, and till, by their settling their government there, they had polish'd the *Britains* by degrees as they subdued them, and reduced them into provinces, all the *Britains* of the south, as well as those of the north, had the custom of painting themselves, or marking their bodies, as (a) *Cæsar* and *Mela* remark, who both of them wrote before the *Romans* had made any fix'd settlement in the island. And even the name of the island itself seems derived from that cus-

(a) *Cæsar's Comment.* l. 5. *Pomp. Mela.* l. 3. c. 6.
Solon. c. 35.

tom; for *Brith*, according to *Cambden*, signifies *paint*; and *Tannia*, in the *Celtick* language, (which is the mother-tongue of the *British*) signifies, according to (a) *Pezron*, *country*: so that *Britannia* originally signifies the country of the painted, or figured people. Upon the whole, it appears, that in the earliest times, whilst the *Britains* lived as yet according to their native customs, before the *Romans* enter'd, the *Britains* of the south were no less *Picti*, painted, than those of the north; but then there was no occasion for their being call'd *Picti*, the custom being common to them all, the name would not have served to distinguish them.

2°. THAT the *Romans* establishing their polity, customs, and manners, among those they subjected to the empire, and reduced into provinces, and abolishing those customs of the conquer'd nations that appear'd barbarous to them, and opposite to their manners, such as that of painting, or making figures on their skins; it happen'd that this custom of painting being laid aside by the southern *Britains*, by degrees, as the *Roman* conquests advanced towards the north, and as their polity was settled among them, and remaining at last only among the *Caledonians*, and other unconquer'd nations of the north, it was very natural for the *Romans*, and those that spoke their lan-

(a) *Pezron* *Antiq. des Gaules*, p. 378, 418.

guage, to give the name of *Picti*, or *Picti Britanni*, to these last, to distinguish, by one remarkable name, all the unconquer'd *Britains* from the provincials, who had left off that custom of painting, or making figures on themselves.

THE truth of this origine of the name will as yet appear more clearly, if it be consider'd, that it was in the end of the third age that we find this name of *Picti* first given to the *Caledonians*, and other *Britains* of the north, by the orator *Eumenius*; and that there was a particular reason why the *Romans* gave them that name in the third age, rather than before, because the custom of painting, or making figures on themselves, began in the third age to be a more remarkable distinction betwixt the provincials and extra-provincials, than ever before.

THE emperor *Severus's* expedition into *Britain*, was in the beginning of the third age. From the wars of *Julius Agricola*, under *Domitian*, till *Severus's* time, the *Romans* had never entered *Caledonia*; having enough to do to defend their provinces in *Britain* against the northern nations, we do not find that they attacked them but in their own defence. *Severus's* ambition to have the surname of *Britannick* carried him further, and intending a conquest of the whole island, (a) he entered *Caledonia*, and

(a) Dio. Wechel. p. 867.

marched

marched his army, tho' with almost incredible loss, to the furthest extremities of the north of *Britain*: the *Romans* who followed him in this expedition, and penetrated to the utmost bounds of *Caledonia*, had more occasion than ever before to know the manners and customs of the northern inhabitants, and to remark more particularly, that they were all painted, or marked with figures, as (a) *Herodian* an author of that time, in the very account of this expedition, describes them. The *Romans* at the same time observing no such custom among the provincial *Britains*, who had time out of mind laid it aside, it was natural for them, seeing all the extra-provincials painted or coloured, and none so but them, to give them the name of *Picti*, which in one word comprehended all the different extra-provincial *Britains*, and served to distinguish them, by one common name that included them all, from the provincial *Britains*. And so it happened; for *Herodian*, tho' he describes them painted or coloured, yet still continues to call them *Britains*, as his cotemporary *Dio* calls them *Caledonians*, in the account they have given us of *Severus's* expedition. The first *Roman* writer, after that expedition, that mentions these northern unconquer'd nations calls, them all by one common name of *Picti*, *Picts*. This was the orator *Eumenius*, who, in the year 297, in an oration before the emperor *Constantius*, calls these nations,

(a) *Herodian*, lib. 2.

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for the first time, *Picti*; and in another oration, as we have already remark'd, pronounced, *A. D.* 308, eleven years after, in the presence of *Constantine*, tells us that the *Caledonians* were only a part of the *Picts*, or painted *Britains*; and thereby giving us to understand that *Picti* was now become the general name to all the northern unconquer'd nations. The same extent of the name of *Picti* appears also in *Ammian*, as we observed elsewhere.

FROM what we have said, I hope manifestly appears the natural reason of this new name of *Picti*, given to a people so well known to be the ancient inhabitants of these northern parts, that the same *Eumenius* (a), the first time he mentions them, supposes it as a thing well known, that they used to have wars with the *Britains* before the coming in of *Julius Cæsar*; and this he advances in the presence of the emperor, and chief officers of the empire, lately come from *Britain*. I hope also, what is said above suffices to discover the particular occasion of the *Romans* giving this new name of *Picti* to the northern *Britains* precisely in the third age, after *Severus's* expedition into these northern parts of the island.

Now this name being once given them by the *Romans*, and continued by the provincial *Britains*,

(a) Eumen. Paneg. 9.

who

who spoke their tongue, down to the *Saxon* invasion; it was as natural for the *Britains* and *Saxons* to retain the name, tho' originally *Latin*, in their vulgar tongues, with alterations according to their different idiotisms, as to retain so many names of towns and countries, and so many other words derived from the *Latin*, particularly the names of things, whereof the *Romans* had introduced among the *Britains* the first use; so the *Britains*, or *Welch*, of course call'd all these northern people, their ancient enemies, *Phychthead*; the *Saxons* named them *Pehts*, or *Pyhtas*; and the *Irish*, and ancient *Scots*, express'd the same thing in equivalent terms of their language, calling them *Cruitbneach*, from *Cruitb*, which signifies forms or figures, such as they used to paint or mark on themselves.

AND now, I hope, what I have said in this article, of the occasion of the *Caledonians* being call'd *Picts*, will appear, to impartial readers, a sufficient answer to Dr. *Stillingfleet's* (a) first objection: *That he does not understand why the continuing an old custom should give the Caledonians a new name.* The next objection he makes is, *What makes the Roman writers so suddenly alter their style, and exchange a name so famous among the Romans, (as that of Caledonians) for the name of Picts, which was not heard of before.* This query

(a) *Stillingfleet's Antiq. Brit.* p. 240, &c.

is alſo, in a great meaſure, answer'd by what we have ſaid already ; to which I add, that the *Romans* writers did not alter their ſtyle on a ſudden, as the objection ſuppoſes, but by degrees. *Eumenius* is the firſt that calls all the northern unconquer'd nations by the name of *Piſti*, but he ſtill continues to call a part of them by their old name, *Caledonians*, [*Caledones alique (a) Piſti*] ; and they continue to be ſo named by *Roman* writers, in the end of the fourth age, (*b*) *Dicaledones* ; and here alſo they are only a part of the *Piſts*, painted, or unconquer'd nations of the north : and this ſeems the true reaſon why the *Roman* writers ceaſed to call them *Caledonians*, at leaſt why we meet not with that name, after the fourth age, given to theſe unconquer'd nations, who are all commonly from that time call'd *Piſti*, as being all comprehended under that common name : whereas the name of *Caledonians*, comprehending only a part of the *Piſts*, or unconquer'd nations, grew out of uſe by degrees ; eſpecially after the *Scots*, who came from *Ireland*, began to make a figure in *Britain*, and were known to the *Romans* as the common enemies of the empire, in conjunction with the *Piſts*. And, from that time, both the *Roman* and *Britiſh* writers comprehend, under the names of *Piſts* and *Scots*, all the northern nations, who had never been ſubjects of the *Roman*

(a) Eumen.

(b) Amman. lib. 27. p. 347.

empire:

empire: and the lesser people, whose proper names we find in former writers, being either become subject to, or united into one people with the *Picts*, or the *Scots*, or the *Britains* of the north, we hear no more of the names of any other nations in *Britain*, after the coming in of the *Saxons* in the fifth age, but of the *Britains*, the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and of the *Saxons*: at least this is the style of *Gildas*, and of *Bede*, who seem to have read neither *Tacitus*, nor *Dio*, nor any *Roman* writer, who mentions *Caledonia*, or the *Caledonians*.

ART. III. Of the origine of the Caledonians, or Picts, and from whence they first came into Britain.

As to the country from whence the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, came first into *Britain*, *Bede* (a) says that the report was in his time, (*ut perhibent*) that they came originally from *Scythia*; and in this he is generally follow'd by later writers: but whereas the said *Bede* writes, and it is commonly agreed on, that the *Britains* of the south came from the opposite coasts of the *Gauls*; from this his giving a different origine of these *Britains*, and of the *Picts*, is form'd a new objection against what we have endeavour'd to prove in the foregoing articles, of the *Picts* being the ancient *Bri-*

(a) Bed. l. i. c. i.

*tain*s of the north: but if this were of any weight, it would equally prove, that the *Silures*, a people of *South Britain*, were not *Britains*; because *Tacitus* (a) thinks that they came originally from *Spain*. As if the greatest part of the *Britains* of the south, because they came in originally from the opposite coasts of the *Gauls*, were more justly entitled to the name of *Britains*, than the other ancient inhabitants of the island, tho' they had come at first from different countries.

IT was not then the coming to settle in *Britain*, from one country rather than from another, that gave the inhabitants of the island the name of *Britains*, (for all of them, at the first plantation of it, must have come in from some foreign country or other) but their being the first known inhabitants of the respective provinces of *Britain*, whether south or north, gave them equally a right to that name. Hence the *Picts* being, according to *Bede*, as we have seen, the first inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, from whatsoever country they came, were, by their being ancient inhabitants of the island, no less entitled to the common name of *Britains*, than the inhabitants of the southern parts of the island.

BUT to come now to the country that was the origine of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*. If we

(a) Tacit. v. Agric. n. 11.

suppose the conjectures of *Tacitus*, and of *Bede*, to be well grounded, it will appear that the first inhabitants of *Caledonia* came originally from the ancient *Chersonesus Cymbrica*, or *Scandia*, so famous for sending abroad numbers of people, that *Jornandes* (a) calls it justly the work-house of nations, *Officina Gentium*. And whereas *Tacitus* (b) conjectures, that the *Caledonians* came out of *Germany*; and *Bede*, who calls them *Picts*, by the name they commonly bore in his time, says it was reported that they came from *Scythia*: this difference may be easily reconciled, by explaining the meaning of these two writers.

(c) *TACITUS*, in his description of *Germany*, includes in *Germania Magna*, as well as *Pomponius Mela*, all the northern nations of the *European* continent, even to the ocean; containing an immense extent, and many islands, unknown to the *Romans*. On the other hand, *Bede* following the ancient geographers, such as (d) *Strabo*, as also (e) *Diodorus* and (f) *Pliny*, supposes that *Scythia Europea* extended to the utmost bounds of the north; and includes, among the *Scythians*, the ancient inhabitants of *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Danemark*,

(a) *Jornandes de rebus Geticis*, l. 1. c. 4.

(b) *Tacit. vit. Agric.* n. 11.

(c) *Tacit. de morib. Germanor.* n. 1, 2.

(d) *Strabo*, p. 507.

(e) *Diodor.* l. 6. c. 7.

(f) *Plin.* l. 6. c. 13.

the *Daci*, *Getae*, &c. So that in reality, *Tacitus* and *Bede* differ only in name; but both agree in the same opinion, that the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, came in at first from the opposite coasts of the northern parts of the *European* continent, which *Tacitus* includes in *Germany*, and *Bede* in *Scythia*.

Now, supposing that there were any good ground for the opinion of these two writers, which they themselves give only as a conjecture or hearsay, and that we had any certainty of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, having had their origine from the more northern parts of the *European* continent, it were an useless, as well as an endless discussion, to examine in particular from which of all the northern nations of the continent the first colony came to *Caledonia*; because that these nations of the north were almost in perpetual motion, and changing habitations, as *Strabo* (a) remarks; and he assigns for it two reasons: the one because of the barrenness of the soil, they tilled not the ground, and built habitations only for a day: the other, because being often over-power'd by their neighbours, they were forced to remove. Another reason why it is impossible to know from which of those nations the northern parts of *Britain*, (supposing they came from thence) were at first peopled, is because we have but very lame accounts of these northern nations from the *Greek*, or *Ro-*

(a) *Strabo*, p. 291.

man writers, (from whom alone we can look for any thing certain in those early times) especially of those of *Scandia*, to the north of the *Baltick* sea, as the same *Strabo* (a) observes. Besides it appears, that *Caledonia* was peopled long before the inhabitants of these northern parts of the continent were mention'd, or even known by the most ancient writers we have; and perhaps before the first nations mention'd by them were settled in those parts.

BUT if, notwithstanding the ignorance we are left in by the most ancient *Greek* and *Roman* writers, of the inhabitants of the northern continent in the most early times, any conjecture may be drawn from the customs of these nations, when they begin to appear in certain history, it would be a confirmation of the *Caledonians* being come into *Britain* from those northern parts of the continent, that we find by the first *Roman* writers, who mention them, the custom of painting, or imprinting figures on their bodies, (which is the most distinctive character of the *Caledonians*) still in use in the first age of christianity, among several of these people of the northern continent.

SUCH were the *Arii* mentioned by (b) *Tacitus*, the (c) *Agathyrsi*, and *Geloni*; and these last are

(a) *Strabo*, p. 294.

(b) *Tacit. de morib. German.* p. 228. edit. *Lips.*

(c) *Virgil. Georg.* l. 2.

also mention'd by (a) *Solinus*, who gives the same character of them, and the *Getae*, as he does of the *Picts*. And tho' those people lived, for the most part, when these authors wrote of them, at a distance from the northern coasts, yet we know not what changes might have happen'd in their habitations, from the time of the first planting the north of *Britain*, till that of these writers.

BUT as all that I have advanced hitherto in this article, of the origine of the *Caledonians* from *Scandia*, or other northern parts of the *European* continent, hath no other ground but a conjecture of *Tacitus* and *Bede's* hear-say, (*ut perhibent*): I must own, that it appears much more natural, and more probable, that the *Caledonian Britains*, or *Picts*, were of the same origine as the *Britains* of the south; that as these came in originally from the nearest coasts of the *Gauls*, by degrees, as they multiplied in the island, and peopled the southerly parts of it, they advanced towards the more northerly, and seated themselves there, carrying along with them the same customs as the *Britains* of the south, as also the same language derived originally from the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*; and *Tacitus* (b) himself seems at last to come into this opinion; for after his conjecture about the origine of the *Caledonians*, and of the *Silures*, he adds, without

(a) *Solin.* c. 25.

(b) In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. *Tacit. vit. Agric.* n. 11.

excep-

exception, as to all the *Britains* in general, that it was more credible, or likely, that the *Gauls* from the neighbouring coast had at first peopled the island. This seems more natural; for so the earth was peopled at first. Men, as their number increased in their first habitations, being obliged to advance forward to new ones in their neighbourhood, to transport themselves, not only over rivers, but over the narrow passages of sea, at first only to the nearest lands, or islands, which they could easily discern from their own coasts, before they durst venture on sea-voyages out of sight of land, especially in those early times, when men were so ignorant of the art of navigation: so it is much more probable, that the first inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, came rather from the southerly parts of the island, than from *Scandia*, or other parts of the northern continent, at the distance of several days sailing from any part of *Britain*.

THIS origine of the *Caledonians* is confirm'd by the account that the *Roman* writers *Herodian*, *Dio*, and even *Tacitus* himself, in other places, give of them, by their calling them ordinarily by the name of *Britains*, and by their treating of them as a part of the *Britains*, without other distinction than that of their being seated in the most northerly part of the island, *Caledonia*, and of their having maintained their liberty with greater courage and unanimity, than the *Britains* of

of the south, against the power of the *Roman* empire. This character of the *Caledonian Britains* appears eminently in the noble harangue which, according to *Tacitus*, the famous *Galgacus* made to his countrymen, assembled in battle against *Agricola's* army. He tells them, they were the most noble among the *Britains*, (*nobilissimi totius Britannie*) who had never beheld slavery, much less undergone it; which is the only difference he puts betwixt the *Caledonians* and *Britains* of the south. In fine, *Herodian* never calls these of the north but *Britains*, tho' he describes them to be *Picts*; and *Tacitus* himself, who calls their country *Caledonia*, never gives the inhabitants of it any other name but that of *Britains*.

ART. IV. *Of the Pictish language.*

HAVING in the foregoing articles shewn that the *Picts* were the same people with the *Caledonians*, and that the *Caledonians*, or *Britains* of the north, were originally the same people with the *Britains* of the south; it follows of course that their language in ancient times, and before the *Romans* were settled in *Britain*, was the same, to wit, *British*.

AND even tho' we should suppose that the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, had their origine from the northern parts of the *European* continent, as *Tacitus* seems to conjecture, and as it was reported
to

to *Bede*; that would not hinder the *Caledonians* from having originally had the same language as the *Britains*: since it appears, that the *Celtick* language, whereof the *British* is a dialect, was in use in ancient times in the furthest extremities of the north: at least the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Scyths*, were extended to these parts; for *Strabo* tells us, that the ancient *Greek* writers call'd all the northern nations *Celto-Scyths*, or *Scyths*; and (a) *Tacitus* assures us, that in his time the *Gallick* tongue was in use among some of these northern people, such as the *Gothini*; and the *British* tongue among others, as the *Æstii*.

BUT we need not go so far off to seek the origine of the *Caledonians*, or of their language, having already shewn that it is much more natural, and better grounded in authority, to think that the *Caledonians* were a part of the *Britains* of the south, and that both of them had in common their origine from the nearest coasts of the *Gauls*; and by consequence, the language of the *Caledonians* must have been originally the same as that of the *Britains* of the south.

HOWEVER, it is no wonder that the long habitation of the *Romans*, mix'd with the *Britains*, caused such alterations, both in their manners or customs, and in their language, as to make the

(a) Tacit. de morib. German. edit. Gronov. n. 43, & 45.

Caledonians, or *Picts*, after several ages, appear a people of a different origine, and different language: and these alterations, no doubt, gave occasion to *Bede* (a), a stranger to the languages, both of the *Britains* and *Picts*, to express himself in the manner he doth, both of the people, and of their tongues, in that famous passage where he says, in his time there were in *Britain* five languages of five people, to wit, the *English* or *Saxon*, the *British*, the *Scots* or *Irish*, the *Pictish*, and the *Roman* or *Latin*: where, among others, he makes both the *British* and *Pictish* people, and their language, quite distinct. For tho' *Bede* might know some words of the *British* and *Pictish* languages, as we see he did, yet it required a greater knowledge of them, than can be supposed in a native *Saxon*, to be able to discern by their analogy, that they were originally but different dialects of the same mother-tongue; and after all, *Bede* spoke as properly in calling them distinct languages, as one would do in calling the *English* and *Germans* different languages: there having been, without doubt, as great an alteration in the *British* tongue from the time of the *Romans* being settled in the island, as there is in that of the *English* since the *Norman* conquest.

FOR tho', before the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Britains*, both of the south and of the north,

(a) *Bede*, lib. I. c. 1.

spoke one and the same language ; yet after their having been, from the time that the *Romans* settled in the island, about six hundred years before *Bede's* time, not only in quite different interests, and separated from one another, but that the *Britains* of the south, by their long subjection to, and mixture with the *Romans*, had learned their language, and received in their own a multitude of new words and expressions from the *Latin*, as well as new arts and sciences, unknown to the northern *Britains*, or *Caledonians* ; together with an accent, and pronunciation, quite different from theirs. All this, in length of time, must have naturally made such alterations in the *British* language, as to make the *British* and *Pictish* appear as different one from another, as the *English* doth from the *Dutch* or *Germans* ; in a word, so as not to be understood one by another. So it is no wonder that *Bede*, a stranger both to the *British* and *Pictish*, took them for different languages.

BUT that did not hinder his learning several words of both languages ; for we no where find a clearer proof of the *Pictish* language, being the same with the *British*, than in (a) *Bede*, where he tells us, that *Pennabel* in *Pictish* signified the head of the wall, which is just the signification that the same two words *Pen* and *Uabel* have in the *British*.

(a) *Bede*, l. 1. c. 12.

tish. But to render the proof drawn from the equivalency of sense or signification of the same words in the *British* and *Pictish* languages more clear, it is fit to observe, 1°. That all the words, that we know of, remaining of the *Pictish* tongue, are names of places. 2°. That all the northern provinces of *Britain*, at least from the *Friths* of *Clwyd* and *Forth* to the *Orknays*, were (as we (a) shall shew) the ancient dominions of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, till about the eighth or ninth age (excepting what the *Scots* possessed in the north-western parts of the island.) So all the old words or names of places in those parts, which formerly belonged to the *Picts*, at least those that are not *Gaelick* or *Irish*, must be *Pictish*, and if they prove to have the same signification in the *British* tongue, the conformity of those two languages will more clearly appear.

THUS *Aber*, which signifies in the *British* tongue (as *Camden* observes) the fall or mouth of a river or brook, is most frequently us'd in those parts of *Scotland*, where the *Picts* formerly inhabited, in the same signification; as *Aberdeen*, *Abernethy*, *Aberbrothock*, and a multitude of others. The same thing may be said of the word *Strat* or *Strath*, which in the *British* tongue, as the same learned author remarks, signifies a valley, having a river or brook running through it; and is very

(a) *Infra* Art. V.

common in *Scotland*, in the same sense as in these words, *Stratherne*, *Strathdie*, *Strathdone*, *Strathyla*, *Strathawin*, *Strathspei*, *Strathbozy*, and many others: and since these words are not old *Scotish* or *Irish*; and that the *South-Britains* never dwelt in those parts, they must be *Pictish*, and by consequence are a new proof of the conformity of the *British* and *Pictish* languages. And I make no doubt, but a person well skilled in the *British* tongue would, by observation, find many more words, common to the *British* and *Pictish* languages, in these northern parts of the island formerly inhabited by the *Picts*; notwithstanding that many names of places are so alter'd and corrupted by length of time, and by changes of possessors and inhabitants, that they appear quite different from what they were originally, or in former ages. Thus two of the most famous places in the *Pictish* times, *Abernethy* in *Stratherne*, the chief seat, as it is believed, of the *Pictish* kings, and *Forteviot*, another habitation of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kings, both of them now inconsiderable villages, were formerly very differently written: the one (a) *Apur-nethige*, the other (b) *Fothurtaicht*, as may be seen in the appendix of ancient pieces at the end of this work. And I believe the many names of old places in those parts, which now begin by the syllable *For*; as *Forfar*, *Forres*, *Fordyce*, &c. may

(a) Append. n. 2.

(b) Append. n. 3.

have

have formerly been written *Fothur*, or *Fothuir*; and it is in that way of writing that the true meaning of the word must be sought. The same thing may have happened to such names of places in the north, as begin with the syllables *Pet* or *Pit*, *Tille*, *El*, *Roth*, and the like.

I must also here remark, that even many words or names of places, which pass for old *Scotish*, *Gaelick* or *Irish*, may have had the same signification in the *British* language, which they have in *Gaelick*, and yet have been originally *Pictish*. These three languages, the *British*, the *Pictish*, and the *Irish*, as hath been already remarked, having all originally been only different dialects of the same mother-tongue, the *Celtick*; there being an analogy no less visible betwixt the two of these languages that still subsist, to wit, the *British* divided into the *Welsh*, *Cornish*, and *Armorican* dialects, and the *Irish* the same with the old *Scotish* or *Gaelick* on the one hand, than there is on the other, betwixt the *English*, *High* and *Low Dutch*, originally dialects of the *Gothish*. Those who by education, or by their own private study have a competent knowledge of these languages, will, by comparing them, find out their analogy; and others that have not had those advantages, will find abundance of proofs of it in the late Mr. *Edward Lhuyd*'s learned work, intitled, *Archæologia Britannica*.

IT was in all appearance this analogy or affinity of the *Pictish* language, with the *Irish* or *Gaelick*, the vulgar tongue of the generality of the *Scots* in those days, and with the *British*, which was the language of the *Walenses* or *Welch* in *Galloway*, and other parts of the west of *Scotland*; that upon the union of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kingdoms in the ninth age, made the *Pictish* language so disappear before the middle of the twelfth age, (which was (a) *Henry of Huntington's* wonder) as if it never had been: the *Picts*, after the union, being by degrees all over the north incorporated into one body of people with the *Scots*, whose vulgar language, before *Malcolm Keanmore's* reign, was generally the *Gaelick* or *Irish*, left off more naturally the use of their own language, and came to speak that of the *Scots*, because of the affinity betwixt the two languages. — The same thing happened in *Galloway* and the western parts, where many of the *Picts* were mix'd with the *Walenses*, or remains of the *Midland Britains*, even before the union with the *Scots*, and where they made a greater figure after it by the name of *Gakwejenes*, as we shall see elsewhere.

ART. V. *Of the extent of the Pictish dominions.*

THERE'S no part of the ancient state of the north of *Britain*, or *Scotland*, that seems to have

(a) *Hen. Huntington*, lib. i. fol. 171.

been

been more misrepresented, or less understood by our modern writers, than the extent of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* dominions in old times. (a) *Boece* reduces the *Pictish* dominions within very small bounds, since he tells us, that from the beginning of the *Scots* monarchy in *Britain*, the *Scots*, besides the western provinces and isles, were possessed of all the northern countries beyond the *Grampian* hills, or *Cairn of Mounth*, and sets down the distribution of these northern parts, made by *Fergus I.* three centuries before the incarnation, among his nobles; and in this he is generally followed by the *Scotish* writers that came after him.

(b) *CAMDEN* on the contrary confines the *Scotish* dominions even in *St. Columba's* time to *Argyle*, *Kentyre*, *Knapdail*, and some of the western islands towards *Ireland*, and extends the *Pictish* territories to *Lorn*, *Mule*, and *Jona*, or *Ycolmkill*, grounded chiefly on *Bede's* having made *Jona* the donation of the *Picts* to *St. Columba*. My intention here is to examine the extent of the *Pictish* or *Caledonian* dominions, according to what remains we have of ancient writers. And 1°. their extent to the north, that is beyond the *Friiths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, towards the northern extremities of *Scotland*. 2°. The extent of their dominions, by degrees, to the south of these *Friiths*.

(a) *Boet.* p. 11, 12. edit. A. D. 1575. *Lessi hist.* p. 54.

(b) *Camden in Scotia.*

§. 1. *Extent of the Caledonian, or Pictish dominions to the North: that they reach'd to the extremities of the north of Scotland, or northern parts of Britain.*

(a) *TACITUS*, the most ancient author that gives us any account of the northern parts of *Britain*, includes in *Caledonia* all the countries on the north side of the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*.

(b) *Dio*, in his relation of *Severus's* expedition into *Caledonia*, gives us much the same notion of its extent.

B E D E is no less express, that the *Picts*, from their first settlement in *Britain*, possessed all the northern parts of it beyond the *Friths*, not only towards the east, but even those parts towards the west, which became afterwards, upon the *Scots* coming into *Britain*, their portion or possession. For he tells us (c) that the *Frith* of *Clyde* was anciently the boundary of the *Britains* and *Picts*; and consequently he says, That the *Scots* at their first

(a) Tacit. vit. Agricolaë, p. 233, 234. edit. Lips.

(b) Dio, p. 867.

(c) Est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Britonum a Pictis secernebat; qui ab Occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith, Bede, l. 1. c. 1. Procede tempore Britannia post Britones & Pictos tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, *ibid.*

M

coming

coming to *Britain* were received, or took possession of a portion of the *Pictish* territories, in *parte Pictorum*, at the north side of the *Frith* of *Clyde*, which thenceforth became the boundary of the *Scots* and *Britains*, as before the *Scots* coming in, it had been the western boundary of the *Britains* and *Picts*, whose territories towards the east had been bounded by the *Frith* of *Forth*.

THE *Picts*, according to (a) *Ammian*, were divided in the fourth century into *Deucaledonians* and *Vesturiones*, that is, southern and northern, according to the interpretation of learned, modern critics. But what is only guessed at from the etymology of the names by these critics, is plainly expressed by (b) *Bede*, where he says, the southern *Picts*, converted to christianity by St. *Ninian*, were divided from the northern, whom St. *Columba* converted by a high ridge of hills, which can be no other than the *Grampians*. So that the southern *Picts* were those that dwelt to the south of the *Grampian* hills; and the northern were those *Picts* who inhabited the countries from the same hills northwards to the extremities of *Scotland*.

THAT the *Picts* in St. *Columba*'s time, that is in the sixth century, were still in possession of the utmost extremities of the north of *Britain*, is far-

(a) *Ammian. Marcell. lib. 27.*

(b) *Bede, lib. 3. c. 4.*

ther proved from the accounts that *Adamnan* gives us in *St. Columba's* life of the saints journeys to these northern *Picts*, whom he converted. And here I cannot but observe, that as this life of *St. Columba* by *Adamnan* is, next to *Gildas's* writings, the most ancient historical piece remaining of a *British* writer, so being received for genuine by the learned in foreign countries, as well as at home, it contains the most ancient and authentick account of the *Scottish* history. But before I set down those passages of *Adamnan*, containing *St. Columba's* journeys, in order to understand them more fully, and to set in a clearer light the extent of the *Pictish* dominions in those times, to wit, in the sixth and seventh century, it is necessary to give a distinct view of the names, situation, and several branches of that famous ridge of hills that reaches from one side of *North-Britain* to the other.

THESE hills are called by *Tacitus*, and others after him, *Mons Grampius*; whence *Granzebin*, by (a) *Adamnan*, *Dorsum Britannie*, commonly *Drum-Albays*, by (b) *Bede*, *Ardua & horrentia montium juga*; by an anonymous author of the description of *Albany*, or *Scotland*, cited by *Camden* from a M S. in the *Burgbleyan* library, at present in the *Colbertin*, from whence it was copied, and is here inserted in the appendix, numb. 1. *Mons qui*

(a) *Adamn. vit. S. Columb. lib. 2. cap. 46.*

(b) *Bede, supra.*

Mounth vocatur qui a mari occidentali usque ad orientale extenditur. And by another short description of *Scotland* in the *Cotton (a)* library, of the thirteenth age, they are thus explain'd, *Quoddam vastum quod vocatur le Mounth ubi est pessimum passagium sine cibo.* This last passage respects particularly that branch of these hills commonly called the *Cairn of Mounth*.

As to their situation and branches, it is agreed on by all, that the *Grampian* hills divide *Scotland* into two parts, they running from the east to the west. 'Tis also agreed, that the ridge of hills, commonly called the *Mounth*, or *Cairn of Mounth*, that runs from *Athole* down the south side of the river of *Dee* to the east sea, near *Dunnoter*, is a chief branch of the *Grampians*; and generally the modern descriptions of *Scotland* bring the other branch of the *Grampian* hills, which terminates at the western sea, from *Athole* down thro' *Braid-Albain*, by *Loch Lomond*, to the *Firth* of *Clyde*: Thus *Boece*, *Buchanan*, &c. nor is there any dispute about it: but then it must be own'd by all that have travelled thro', and considered the north-western parts of *Scotland*, that there is no where a more visible tract of the highest hills than from *Athole*, thro' the mountainous parts of *Badenoch* towards the sea coast of *Knoydeart*. So that besides the western ridge of hills beforementioned, run-

(a) Nero, D. 11. 7.

ning from *Athole* through *Braid-Albayn*, and terminating at the *Frith* of *Clyde* near *Dunbarton* in the west: we must take notice of another branch of the *Grampian* hills extending from those of *Athole* through *Badenoch*, to the sea coast of *Knoydeart*, or *Aresaick*, in the north-west. And this last branch of *Drum-Albayn*, or the *Grampian* hills, seems plainly describ'd by *Adamnan*.

HE informs us that *St. Columba's* journeys from *Tcolmkill*, going to, and returning from the habitation of *Brude* king of the *Picts*, was by *Logh-Ness*, which he calls in (a) *St. Columba's* life *Nesse Fluvius*, and in the following chapter *Nesse Lacus*; whence it appears, that besides the ordinary abode of the *Pictish* kings, which our historians fix at *Abernethy* near *Tay*, king *Brude* must have had another residence, (which *Adamnan* calls there, *Domus regia*; and elsewhere, (b) *Munitio regis Brudei*) at the northmost end of *Lochness*. And since surely he would not have a dwelling but among his subjects, it follows, that his dominions included the most northern parts of *Scotland*; 'tis probable they extended even over the *Orknays*, since we find in the same (c) author *St. Columba* at king *Brude's* court, entreating that king to command the prince (*Regulus*) of the *Orknays* (who was also present at king *Brude's* court, and had given hostages to the

(a) *Adamnan* vit. *St. Columbæ*, lib. 2. cap. 33.

(b) Lib. 3. cap. 35.

(c) Lib. 2. cap. 42.

king as a pledge of his fidelity) to command him, I say, to be favourable to St. Columba's Monks then in *Orknay*.

ADAMNAN, in the same place tells us, that king *Brude*'s dwelling, where St. Columba met with the prince of *Orknay*, was in regard of *Ycolmkill*, (*trans dorsum Britanniae*) on the other side of *Drum-Albayn*; and since, as we have seen, it was to the north of *Lochness*, it would appear that there must have been a branch of *Drum-Albayn*, or the *Grampian*, betwixt *Ycolmkill* and *Lochness*, which could not be any part of these hills, as our modern writers describe them, but must have been a branch of them running from *Athole* to the north-western coast, such as we have described above: and this is yet farther confirm'd by another passage of the same (a) *Adamnan*, where he says, that *Drum-Albayn* divided the *Scots* from the *Picts*, (*inter quos [Pictos & Scotos] dorſi montis Britannici diftermini*). So that as that branch of the *Grampians* that goes from *Athole* to *Clyde*, divided the *Scots* from the *Britains* and southern *Picts*, there must have been a second branch of it from *Athole*, towards the north-western coast of *Knoydeart*, or *Aresack*, to separate the *Scots* from the northern *Picts*. The third branch of these hills so well known by the name of *Cairn of Mounth*, was those high hills, that, according

(a) Lib. 2. cap. 46.

to *Bede*, divided the southern *Picts*, converted by *S. Ninian*, from the northern, who received the faith from *St. Columba*. But as to this matter I only offer my conjectures from the passages of *Adamnan*, leaving the determination to the learned among our countrymen, who can more easily take a view of the places.

MEANTIME, supposing this situation and extent of the *Grampian* hills, it seems now no hard matter to determine the bounds of the *Pictish* and *Scotish* dominions during *St. Columba's* time, much different from the description that modern writers have given of them. Since the *Scotish* kingdom, according to this description of the *Grampians*, must have been separated from the *Pictish* to the north, by the branch of these hills that run from *Athole* towards *Knoydeart*, or *Aresaick*, and to the south-east by another branch of the same hills running from *Athole* through *Braid-Albain* by *Logh-Lomond*, towards the mouth of *Clyde*. Whence it follows, that the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, called sometimes (a) *Regnum Dalriete* or *Dalriede*, included in those times all the western islands, together with the countries of *Lorn*, *Argyle*, *Knapdayl*, *Cowell*, *Kentyre*, *Lochabyr*, and a part of *Braid-Albain*, &c. And that the *Pictish* kingdom included all the rest of the north of *Scotland*, from the *Fritbs* to the *Orknays*. But the

(a) Append. of pieces, n. 3:

marches of these two people were very variable, they being always ready to inroach one upon another, as they were more or less powerful. Thus (a) *Bede* informs us, That upon the death of *Egfrid* king of *Northumberland*, slain in battle by the *Picts*, A. D. 685, the *Picts* recover'd a part of their dominions, which the *Scots*, as well as the *Saxons*, had seized upon.

HOWEVER, from this account that *Adamnan* gives us of the bounds of the *Scotish* and *Pictish* dominions in *St. Columba's* time, it follows, that since the island *Jona*, was, as it were, in the heart or center of the kingdom of *Scots*, composed of the islands and mainland, as above, and separated from the *Pictish* dominions by sea and land, it could not have been the *Picts*, as *Bede* relates, but must needs have been the *Scots* that gave it to *St. Columba* and his disciples; which is farther evident from this, that *Adamnan* (who was abbot of *Icolmkill*, and on the place, and wrote earlier than *Bede*) never speaks of the *Pictish* country, but as a country quite distinct from that where *St. Columba* dwelt in *Icolmkill*. These are his words: *Whilst the holy man St. Columba made some stay in the country of the Picts, &c.* Again (b) *Whilst the holy man staid some months in the Pictish provinces, he was oblig'd to pass over the water*

(a) *Bede*, lib. 4. cap. 26.

(b) *Adamnan vita St. Columbæ*, lib. 2, cap. 11.

of Ness, or Lochness. He hath much the same expressions, c. 32, and elsewhere; and always supposes the country of the *Picts* a strange country, where St. *Columba* used to travel and remain, only as his mission call'd him; whereas, if *Jona* had belong'd to the *Picts*, he would never have mention'd their country as a distinct dominion, where he was from home; as he no where mentions the country of the *Scots* in *Britain* as a strange country, in regard of his monastery in *Jona*. On the contrary we find the island of *Jona* always mentioned by *Adamnan*, as being in the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and the inhabitants of it as subjects of the king of the *Scots*. There it was (a) that St. *Columba* inaugurated *Aydan*, king of the *Scots*: there St. *Columba*, with his monks, pray for victory to king *Aydan* as their (b) sovereign: there king *Aydan* (c) consults the saint which of his sons was to live to be his successor. In fine, the northern *Picts* were not christians when St. *Columba* came first to *Britain*; and their king (d) *Brude* being as yet a *Pagan*, shut his gates against the saint, when he first went to visit him; so far were the *Picts* at his coming from giving him possessions; whereas the *Scots* being christians long before, received him with all respect, and gave him a place of abode: and accor-

(a) Lib. 3. cap. 5.

(b) Lib. 1. cap. 8.

(c) Lib. 1. cap. 9.

(d) Lib. 2. cap. 35.

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dingly, at his first landing in (a) *Britain*, he applied to *Conal*, king of the *Scots*, by whom there's no doubt but the monastery of *Jona* was founded: and in effect the most authentick (b) annals that the *Irish* have, such as those of *Tigernac* and of *Ulster*, mention expressly, that the island of *Hy* or *Jona*, was given to St. *Columba* by this king *Conal*, son of *Comgall*; and there's no reason to distrust these annals in a matter of this kind. As to (c) *Bede's* ascribing to the *Picts* the donation of *Jona* to St. *Columba*, he being a stranger, and living at a distance from these parts, and having had his accounts of *Icolmkill* only by hearsay, his authority on this subject ought not to be put in the balance with that of *Adamnan*, who was himself abbot of *Icolmkill*, near St. *Columba's* time, and one of his successors; and besides, had his information from those who lived with the saint, and from the originals in the monastery itself. And all that can be said to apologize for *Bede* is, that supposing, as he does, in the beginning of his history, that all those western countries and isles belonged originally to the *Picts*, from whom the *Scots* had them by favour or force at their first entry in *Britain*; and seeing St. *Columba* was chiefly destined to preach the Gospel to the *Picts*, he supposed naturally, that the *Picts* had in gratitude

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 7.

(b) Usser. antiq. p. 367.

(c) Bede, lib. 3. cap. 4.

made the donation of *Jona* to him and his disciples.

BUT to return now, and conclude what we find in after-times of the extent of the *Pictish* dominions towards the north. It appears by contemporary authors, that the *Picts* continued in possession of the northern provinces of *Scotland* till their union in one kingdom with the *Scots* in the ninth century. 1°. (*a*) *Nennius*, however uncertain his authority may be as to ancient transactions, he may be surely depended on in the account he gives of the inhabitants of the island in his own time. He wrote, *A. D.* 832, as his chronicle shews, that is, a very few years before the union of the *Scots* and *Picts*, which probably he lived to see. This author, speaking of the first settlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, says, they seiz'd first the *Orkney* islands, and thence possessed themselves of many countries to the left side of *Britain*, that is to say of the *North*, (as he explains himself, *cap.* 10. *Picti de Aquilone*) and possess them to this day. And elsewhere the same *Nennius* speaking of the *Orkney* islands, says, they are be-

(*a*) *Nennius* hist. Briton. cap. 5. p. 99. edit. Gal. *Picti* venerunt & occupaverunt insulas quæ *Orcades* vocantur, & postea ex insulis finitimis vastaverunt, non modicas & multas regiones in sinistrâ plaga *Britanniæ*, & manent usque in hodiernum diem.

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yond the *Picts*. Now if the *Picts* had possessed only the countries to the south of the *Grampian*, and the *Scots* those of the north, he would have said the *Orknays* were beyond the *Scots*, and not as he does, beyond the *Picts*.

THE second Proof of the *Picts* being in possession of all the *North*, till their union with the *Scots*, may be taken from the life of St. *Findan*, who lived in the ninth age, written by an author of the time, and companion of the saint, and printed by (a) *Goldastus*, as an authentick monument. This author relates, that St. *Findan* was led away captive out of *Ireland* by the *Normans* or *Danes*, about the end of the eighth century; and that in going from *Ireland* to *Denmark*, they came to certain islands called the *Orknays*, in the neighbourhood of the *Pictish* nation, *ad quasdam venere insulas, juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant*. It is to be remarked, that as the author, who was a companion of St. *Findan*, observes, this happen'd about the end of the eighth century, that is, about fifty years before the union of the *Picts* and *Scots*; by which it appears plainly, that the *Picts* remained in possession of the utmost extremities of the north of *Scotland*, as long as their monarchy lasted in their own name.

(a) *Allemanicarum rerum scriptores vetusti ex bibliotheca Goldasti, A. D. 1606, edit. vita S. Findani, p. 318.*

§. 2. *Extent of the Pictish dominions towards the south, on this side of the Friths of Clyde and Forth.*

TO set in a clearer light what we have to say of the extent of the *Pictish* dominions, on the south side of the *Friths*, in the *debateable* lands, we shall consider the state of the *Picts* in three different epochs; 1°. From the first mention we meet with in history of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, till the coming in of the *Saxons*. 2°. From thence till the death of *Egfrid* king of *Northumberland*, killed in battle by the *Picts*, A. D. 685. 3°. From *Egfrid's* death, till the union of the *Picts* and *Scots* in one monarchy, under *Keneth the Great*.

As to the state of the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, in the *first epoch*, the *Roman* writers *Tacitus* and *Dio*, as we have already shewn, limit, in the most ancient times, the bounds of *Caledonia* to the south, at the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*. (a) *Bede* also makes these *Friths* the boundary of the *Picts* to the south, at their first settlement in *Britain*, and (b) even long afterwards; but that did not hinder this warlike people, still in motion, and ready to catch at all opportunities of extending their dominion over the *Midland Britains* in the *debateable* lands, betwixt the walls, to make frequent settle-

(a) *Bed.* l. 1. c. 1, and 12.

(b) *Bed.* l. 4. c. 26.

ments there; and tho' often beat out of them by the *Romans*, to return still with new vigour, (as we may have occasion to shew in the second part of this essay) till at last, about the year 426, after the *Romans* last farewell to *Britain*, the *Picts* took peaceable possession of all these *Midland* provinces, up to the (a) *Northumbrian* wall, at least towards the eastern coast, obliging the remains of the provincial *Britains* of these parts to be either subject to them, or retire partly to the *South Britains*, partly towards the western coasts, about *Galloway*, *Clydesdale*, and *Dunbritton*; and thus the bounds of the *Picts*, towards the south, remained till the coming in of the *Saxons*, about the year 449.

Epoch 2. IT would, at first, seem that the *Saxons*, in the beginning, did not molest the *Picts* in the possession of the *Midland* provinces, since, after the first battles which the *Saxons* fought with advantage against the *Picts* and *Scots*, in defence of the *Britains*, the *Saxons* soon made peace with the *Picts*, in order to turn their arms against the *Britains* themselves: but (b) *Bede* remarks, that this peace was not made with the *Picts*, till the *Saxons* had first driven them away at a distance, and apparently possess'd themselves of a part of what the *Picts* had conquer'd from the

(a) *Gildas*, c. 12.

(b) *Inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis quos bello longius pepulerant, in Socios arma vertere incipiunt. Bed. l. c. 15.*

Britains; and (if we may trust to *Nennius's* relation) the *Saxons* forced back the *Picts* to the *Friiths*, and made themselves masters of the most part of the *Midland* country. For (a) *Nennius* tells us, that besides the other supplies that came to the *Saxons*, *Hengistus* their leader, under pretence of fighting against the *Scots*, call'd in forty vessels, (*Chiulæ*) laden with *Saxons*, under the command of *Ochta* and *Abisa*, who, after having sailed about the *Picts*, and ravaged the *Orknays*, came and took possession of many countries on the south-side of the *Friiths*, [*trans mare Fresicum*] that is, betwixt the *Britains* and the *Scots*, to the confines of the *Picts*. Whatever truth there be in this narration of *Nennius*, *English* writers pretend that the *Saxons* got, by degrees, such a footing in these *Midland* provinces, that they made some of them, in after-ages, a part of the kingdom of *Bernicia*, which, as they say, extended from the river *Thyffs*, towards the *Scotish* sea, or *Friith*. This kingdom was set up in *A. D.* 547, by *Ida*. But to leave the discussion of this matter to its proper place, in the mean time it does not appear that the *Picts* of these parts were expelled, but still remained uneasy under the *Saxons* usurpation, ready on all opportunities to recover their possessions, as ap-

(a) [*Hengistus*] invitavit Ochta & Abisa cum 40 Chiulis. At ipsi cum navigarent circa Pictos, vastaverunt Orchades ins. veneruntque & occupaverunt plurimas regiones trans mare Fresicum, i. e. quod inter nos Scotosque est, usque ad confinia Pictorum. *Nennius*, cap. 37. p. 107.

pear'd when, *A. D.* 670, the king of the *Picts*, with a great army, intending to recover his territories on the south of the *Forth*, invaded king *Egfrid*, but was defeated by the *Saxons*, with a great slaughter of the *Picts*; so that the *Picts* dwelling in the midland provinces, remained under subjection till *A. D.* 685, that (a) *Egfrid* himself, having invaded the *Pictish* territories, was kill'd in battle, with the greatest part of his army, by the *Picts*, under the conduct of their king *Brude* (b), son of *Derili* : and here ends the *second epoch* of the *Pictish* settlement, to the south of the *Friths*.

Third Epoch. AFTER the death of *Egfrid*, as the appendix to *Nennius* tells us, not only the *Saxons* never attempted any more to exact tribute of the *Picts* dwelling in the *Midland* countries; but, as *Bede* (c) remarks, from that time the courage and vigour of the *Saxons* still decay'd : so that the *Picts* recover'd their ancient territories to the south of the *Friths*, and (d) reduced the kingdom of *Alfrid*, successor to *Egfrid*, into narrower bounds. The *Picts* having thus got footing again on this side of the *Friths*, took advantage of the *Saxons* weakness and divisions, and daily made new progress in recovering their southern territories betwixt the walls. So we see, *A. D.* 710,

(a) *Bed.* l. 4. c. 26.

(b) *Append. Nennii*, p. 116.

(c) *Bed.* l. 4. c. 26.

(d) *Malmesbur.* f. 10. n. 38.

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they were advanced as far as *Hefeld*, or *Carehouse*, near the *Northumbrian* wall, where they gave battle to the *Saxons*.

DURING the rest of this eighth century, we find the kings of the *Picts* frequently on the south-side of the *Friths*, in war, either against the *Northumbrian* kings, or joined with them against the *Britains* that dwelt in those parts : and so powerful were they, that, *A. D.* 773, (a) *Aleredus*, king of *Northumberland*, fled to the king of the *Picts* for refuge ; and, *A. D.* 794, *Osbold*, another of the *Northumbrian* kings, took the same shelter. About the end of this age, and the beginning of the next, the *Picts* possessed themselves of *Galloway* : and we (b) find, that at the time of the union with the *Scots*, the *Picts* were in possession of all the *Midland* territories, from *Twede* to the *Scotish* sea, or *Friths* ; all which king *Keneth* possessed himself of, as well in the right of the *Picts*, to whose crown he succeeded, as by that of conquest. And thus having united the *Pictish* kingdom, from *Orkney* to *Twede* and *Galloway*, to that of the *Scots*, he was the first monarch of all *Scotland* or *Albany* ; but of this elsewhere : and this may suffice at present as to the extent of the *Pictish* kingdom, both to the north and south.

(a) Scriptor. Ang. col. 107. n. 34. & col. 113. n. 54.

(b) Polychron. p. 194, 199, 204, 207, 210.

ART. VI. *Of the nature or form of the Pictish government.*

As to the form of the *Pictish* government, the series that we have of their kings, and frequent mention of them in ancient history, prove it was monarchical. But whether in the most ancient times, and from the first settlement of the *Caledonians* or *Picts* in *Britain*, they were always governed by kings, cannot, at so great a distance of time, and in such want of ancient monuments, be otherwise determined than by probable conjectures from the common customs of other nations, and of those of *Britain* in particular, in those early times.

IN general, the beginning of all governments is from a kind of monarchy: nor can it well be otherwise, it being impossible to contain a rude multitude, such as all nations were in their origine, by common council, or keep them united in one body or state, otherwise than by the awe of a leader or commander; nor are the republican schemes fitted but to a people already in some measure polish'd. (a) by a monarchical government. (b) And indeed the beginnings of all governments that we meet with in history, even those who afterwards became famous commonwealths, were from one com-

(a) Tit. Liv. lib. 2. n. 4, 5, 6.

(b) Justin. hist.

mon leader or governor, who being either more aged and experienced, or stronger, or wiser, or by some other course of divine providence, first overawed the multitude, or got the ascendant over them, so as to gain their confidence, their respect, and their obedience to his commands and laws. (a) Accordingly the most ancient accounts we have from the best writers inform us, that in the earliest times all *Britain* was governed by little kings.

So that on the whole there seems no doubt, but that the government of the *Picts* or *Caledonians* was monarchical from the beginning; but whether their country *Caledonia*, in the first times, was divided into little states, whereof each had its king; or whether all under one common commander, can be only guessed at; and so it were useless to enquire into it, having no monuments of those times. *Fordun* (b) tells us, that whereas the series of their kings began at *Cruythne*, the son of *Kynne*, before his time, the *Picts* were governed by judges: and though even that would be an ancient origine of their monarchy, since it reaches some ages before the incarnation, yet the notion of judges seeming new and foreign, 'tis likely it was only invented to give a preference in antiquity to the *Scotish* monarchy over that of the *Picts*; it being otherwise generally owned, even by the *Sco-*

(a) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6. cap. 7. Strab. lib. 4. p. 200. *Pompa Mela*, lib. 3. cap. 6.

(b) *Lib.* 1. cap. 36.

ish historians, that claim the highest antiquity to the *Scots*, that their settlement in *Britain* was posterior to that of the *Picts*: and 'tis very probable, that those first rulers of the *Picts* (supposing there had been any such) under the title of judges, wanted only the name, but had the authority of kings.

4°. (a) *TACITUS*, in his account of the *Britains* in general, informs us, that they were wont in former times to have kings, but that in *Agri-cola's* time they were much divided in factions by their princes, scarce two or three *Cantons* being under one government, or common-council; but this determines nothing as to *Caledonia*, and at most might have been but a casual anarchy, founded upon rebellion or sedition: and *Tacitus*, tho' he does not give to *Galgacus*, leader of the *Caledonians*, the name of king, yet he in some manner describes him as such; since he tells us, that among all the commanders of the *Caledonians*, *Galgacus* was the chief, not only in valour, but in (b) birth and nobility: and it is probable, the necessity the *Caledonians* were under, in following times, to oppose the *Roman* encroachments, would contribute to heal their intestine dissensions, and restore monarchical government, in case it had met with any interruption. In the rest of the *Roman*

(a) [*Brit.*] olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus & studiis trahuntur. *Tacit. vit. Agric. p. 231. edit. Lips.*

(b) Virtute & genere præstans, *Tacit. ib. fol. 234.*

wars against the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, the *Romans* seem very little informed of their government, being scarce ever accustomed to treat with them, but as enemies to the empire, whom they endeavoured to keep at as great a distance as they could: so 'tis no wonder that we have from them no account of the kings of the *Picts*, which we might have expected, had any of them been taken by the *Romans*, as was *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures* under *Claudius*.

ART VII. *Of the antiquity of the Pictish monarchy, and of the number and series of their kings.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the disasters that happened to the ancient and once famous nation of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, by which not only the records and monuments of their history were destroyed, but the people themselves so far eclipsed, as to give occasion to later writers to alledge, that they were all cut off: yet there still remains sufficient proofs of their surviving the ninth age, and still subsisting both as to the royal succession, and as to the people themselves, though no more, for these several past ages, known by their own proper name, but by the common name of *Scots*, with whom they were incorporated. This we shall have occasion to shew afterwards; at present my intention is to prove, that the *Picts* laid claim to as ancient a monarchy, and high succession of kings, and with as great probability as either of their neighbours,

neighbours, the *Britains* of the south, or the *Irish*; and this with the allowance of these last.

FOR those *Irish* authors, who assert the antiquity of their own country and monarchy in the *Milesian* line, maintain also that of the *Pictish*; the one and the other being equally attested, as (a) they assure us, by all those ancient books on which the credit of their own remote antiquities is chiefly grounded: such as *Psaltair Casbell*, *Leabhair-Dromnasnaicta*, *Lecan*, &c. all which agree, according to the most learned of their modern writers, That the *Pictish* monarchy in *North Britain* began at the time of their king *Herimon*, son to *Milesius*, whom they place in the eleventh or twelfth, and some of them in the thirteenth century, before the birth of Christ; and that the *Picts* had seventy kings of their own nation, from *Cathluan* (so the *Irish* call the first king of the *Picts*) to *Constantine*, who reigned about the end of the eighth age; about whose time 'tis probable the *Irish* receiv'd this account of the *Pictish* monarchy whilst it subsisted as yet in splendor. The same account of the *Picts* is given by the book of (b) *Lecan* (so famous among the *Irish*) in these words, as *Flaherty* relates them; *Gud & filius Cathluanus duces Pictorum in Hyberniam ad Inver-slainge in Hyken-salia: Crimthano Rege Lagenie,*

(a) Keating, p. 120, 121, 122, &c. Colgan not. in vit. S. Patric. Ward. vit. S. Rumoldi, p. 371. Flaherty Ogyg. p. 190.

(b) *Lecan*, f. 287. apud Flaherty Ogyg. Domestica, p. 190.

Et Herimone super Hyberniam regnante. Catbluanus ille primus septuaginta regum Albanie ad Constantinum usque.

THOUGH the modern *Irish* writers have frequently mentioned this number of seventy *Pictish* kings to the reign of *Constantine*, yet none of them have thought fit hitherto to give us the names and series of these kings; only (a) *Lynch* sets down the names and succession of the *Pictish* kings from *Brude* son of *Meilochon*, that is from the year 556, and downwards, till *Brede* or *Brude*, their last king, with the years of their reigns: and *Lynch* tells us, that he had this catalogue from an *Irish* copy of *Nennius*, the *British* historian.

NOW, however uncertain may be the testimony of these *Irish* books, or other monuments, in what they relate of their own remote antiquity, (into which we shall hereafter have occasion to enquire) 'tis generally affirmed by the best (b) writers of that nation, that the *Psaltair Casbell* is the work of *Cormac Culenan*, who died in the beginning of the tenth century; and (c) *Keating* assures us, that this account of the LXX *Pictish* kings, and of their Monarchies beginning in *Herimon's* time, is taken from an *Irish* poem inserted in *Psaltair Casbell*, and by consequence written be-

(a) *Lynch* Cambren. Everfus, p. 93.

(b) *Waræus* de scriptorib. Hybern. p. 47.

(c) *Keating*, p. 123.

fore it. The *Book of Conquests*, *Lebbargabbala*, which, according to (a) *Flaherty*, gives the same account of the *Picts*, though to be sure it is not more ancient than *St. Patrick* (as a late (b) *Irish* writer affirms) yet it may be allowed to have been written about the ninth age, and whilst the *Pictish* monarchy was as yet subsisting. Whence it follows, that since the *Irish* could have no private motive of their own, to invent this story of the antiquity of the *Pictish* settlement and monarchy; and thus to put a foreign people on a level with themselves, in the two qualities upon which they chiefly valued themselves, that is, the antiquity of their settlement, and that of their monarchy; it follows, I say, from this, that the *Irish* writers must have had good information; and that, in all appearance, from the *Picts* themselves, still subsisting in a separate, distinct monarchy, under their own kings, when at least the most ancient of these *Irish* pieces was written. So upon the whole, these testimonies of the *Irish* writers sufficiently prove, that the *Picts* claimed as ancient a settlement and monarchy in *Britain*, as the *Irish* do in *Ireland*; and that on so good grounds, that the *Irish* antiquaries, so jealous of those prerogatives, were equally persuaded of it.

BUT, for a farther proof that what is advanced by the *Irish* antiquaries of the antiquity of the

(a) *Ogyg.* p. 183.

(b) *D. Ken.* pref. 25, 26.

monarchy and number of the *Pictish* kings in *Britain*, was no invention of the *Irish* bards, but the *Picts* own opinion of themselves, there is still extant an abstract of an ancient chronicle of the *Picts*, under this title, *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, which agrees entirely with the account that the *Irish* give of them, both as to the number of LXX kings before *Constantine*, and as to the antiquity of the *Pictish* monarchy in *Britain*, and differs only in one name; that whereas this chronicle, and all the *Scotish* writers, call the first king of the *Picts*, *Cruithne*; the *Irish* call him *Cathluan*, which may be only two names for the same person; as the patriarch of the *Irish*, *Milesius*, was otherwise called *Gallamb* or *Gollamb*.

IN this ancient piece, or chronicle of the *Picts*, after a preface taken, for the most part from *Isidore* of *Seville*'s book of *Origines*, there is a series or succession of the *Pictish* kings, containing seventy kings to *Constantine*, with the years of their reigns; which all summed up, amount at least to ten or eleven centuries before the incarnation, which is the date the *Irish* commonly give to the beginning of *Herimon* their first king of *Ireland*, during whose reign they assure us, that the monarchy of the *Picts* in *Britain* was founded.

THIS *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, bears that title in great red letters in the MS. in which I found it. This MS. belonged former-

ly to secretary *Cecil*, Lord *Burghley*, afterwards lord high treasurer of *England*, and his name is upon it, written with his own hand. It was in his possession when *Camden* perused it, and extracted several passages from it, to be seen in the later editions which he published of his *Britannia*, in the description of *Scotland*. *Cecil's* library being afterwards put to sale, this (a) M.S. with several others, was bought up by order of Mr. *Colbert*, minister of state to the late king of *France*, who employed in making his rich collection of MSS. consisting of above eight thousand volumes, the famous M. *Baluze*, by whose means I came to the knowledge of this M.S. and some other ancient pieces relating to *Scotland*. The title of *Chronica*, which this short piece bears, was commonly given by writers of after-ages to pieces, however short, that contained any series of facts, with their dates, or catalogues of kings, with the years of their reigns. This M.S. seems to be written above 400 years ago; and contains some other pieces relating to *Scotland*, which will be found with this, in the appendix to this essay. I am lately informed, that this whole M.S. library of Mr. *Colbert*, is bought up by the king of *France* to be added to the royal library.

WE have also catalogues of the *Pictish* kings from the *Scotish* writers. The accounts they give us of the names, number, and years of these

(a) Cod. 3120. Biblioth. M.S. Colbertin Paris.

kings,

kings, may be all reduced to two principal sources, whence they are derived. The first is the old register of *St. Andrew's*, which certainly, if we had it correct, would be preferable to any other account given by the *Scots*, by reason that the church of *St. Andrew*, being founded by the *Picts*, would probably be more careful than any other to preserve their memory, so far as it did not seem to lessen, or interfere with the honour of the *Scots*, according to the way of thinking or prejudice of those times, by which it was thought a derogation from the honour of the *Scots* to grant the *Picts* a priority or preference in an ancient settlement or monarchy in *Britain*, to themselves. From this register, or other monuments of *St. Andrew's*, are, no doubt, derived the imperfect account of the *Pictish* kings, given by *Winton*, canon of *St. Andrew's*, and prior of *Lochleven*, and the catalogue set down by *James Gray*, of which elsewhere. The anonymous author of the history of the *Picts*, printed by *Freebairn*, A. D. 1706, hath given also a catalogue of the *Pictish* kings, but most incorrect and disfigured, taken, he says, from two ancient records of *St. Andrew's* and *Lochleven*: which, notwithstanding the contempt with which that author speaks of them, would have been probably of greater use to the *Pictish* history, if given correctly, than all his performance grounded chiefly on *H. Boece's* history. This series of the *Pictish* kings, from the register of *St. Andrew's*, in the copy of it sent me some years ago by *Sir Robert Sybald*,

M. D. reckons only fifty-two *Pictish* kings, from *Cruythne* till *Constantine*, that is eighteen kings less than the abstract of the *Pictish* chronicle, and the *Irish* antiquaries : and it brings down the first settlement of the *Piets* in *Britain*, to put it on a level, or rather place it an age or two later than that of the *Scots*. The other source of the catalogues of the *Pictish* kings is *Fordun*, followed by later *Scotish* writers ; he reckons six kings more than the register of St. *Andrew's*, in all fifty-eight, from *Cruythne* to *Constantine* ; there being added here and there some names that are neither in that register, nor in the *Pictish* chronicle : and among others, *Hurgust*, the son of *Fergus* or *Foroso*, in the fourth age, to make the catalogue agree with *Fordun's* own chronicle, which places the coming in of *Regulus* to *North Britain*, with the relicks of St. *Andrew*, under king *Hurgust*, during the reign of the emperor *Constantius*, for no other reason, that I can guess at, but because in this emperor's time the relicks of St. *Andrew* and St. *Luke* were, in the year of our LORD 357, removed to *Constantinople* : whereas it is more likely, as it will appear when we come to treat of it, that the coming in of St. *Andrew's* relicks to *Scotland*, or rather to *Pictland* ; and the foundation of *Kilrimunt* or St. *Andrew's*, were of a much later date than *Fordun* places them.

Now, as to the use of all these different catalogues, towards regulating the chronology of the

the *Pictish* kings; in the first place, a great difference ought to be made betwixt what these catalogues contain before, and what they set down after the times that christianity was preached among the *Picts* of the south by St. *Ninian*, towards the beginning of the fifth age, and among the northern *Picts*, by St. *Columba*, about the middle of the sixth age. As to the times preceding their christianity, tho' their living in the neighbourhood of the *Romans* and provincial *Britains* (since these embraced the gospel) either by conversation, or by christian captives, which they frequently carried off in their inroads into the *Roman* provinces, might have introduced among the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, some use of letters earlier than among others at a greater distance from the seat of learning: yet having no assurance that this was common among the *Picts* before the nation was converted to christianity, and there being no certain means to preserve historical facts or dates for any considerable length of time, and beyond the memory of men, without the use of letters; we do not pretend to give that part of the chronicle of the *Picts* that passed before the gospel was preached to them, as proper materials to build on it historical facts, or chronological dates; but we give it only as an ancient monument of history, containing the tradition of that once famous people, concerning the antiquity of their settlement and monarchy in *Britain*, before whom there's no memory of any known inhabitants of the north of
Britain,

Britain, nor any certain *Epoch* of their beginning, or settlement there: but reaching up into the dark ages of the depth of antiquity, they may, for what any can shew to the contrary, contend in the antiquity of settlement and monarchical government with any nation in *Europe*. And even as to the number of their seventy kings, I do not see but that might have been preserved by tradition, without the use of letters.

As to the succession of the *Pictish* kings and their chronology, since their first conversion to christianity, about the beginning of the fifth age, and downwards, two reasons, in my opinion, render the accounts given of them, by this abstract of the *Pictish* chronicle, preferable by far to those of the *Scots*, either in the register of St. *Andrews*, or in *Fordun*, and their followers. 1°. Because, as I have already observed, the abstract seems plainly to have been taken from the chronicles of the *Picts* themselves, written whilst their monarchy and nation subsisted as yet by it self, and under their own name in *Britain*: so 'tis more ancient than any accounts that the *Scottish* writers give of them, and nearer the times. 2°. Because the accounts given of the *Pictish* kings, and their chronology in this abstract, in the times posterior to their receiving christianity, with the use of letters, agree much better than those given by the *Scots*, with all that is recorded of the *Picts* in other ancient *British* writers that mention them.

FOR

FOR the most certain *Æra*, by which all the chronology of the *Pictish* kings is to be regulated, depends upon (a) *Bede's* assuring us, that the year 565 of Christ concurred with the ninth year of the reign of *Brude* son of *Meilochon* king of the *Picts*, who was converted to christianity by *St. Columba*. From thence follows, that king *Brude* began his reign *A. D.* 556. This being supposed as a fix'd *Æra*, to which all agree; and reckoning from this the years of each king of the *Picts*, as they are set down in the several catalogues, it will be easy to find out, which of these catalogues or accounts of the succession of the *Pictish* kings are the most exact, by their conformity to other ancient writers of *Britain* in the ages following, where we have the surest accounts of the *Picts*.

AND first, 'tis agreed on by all writers after (b) *Bede*, that *Egfrid*, king of *Northumberland*, was kill'd in battle by the *Picts*, *A. D.* 685; and it appears by the appendix to (c) *Nennius* that it was by *Brude* king of the *Picts*, who commanded them in this battle, that king *Egfrid* was kill'd. Now this agrees exactly with the chronology of the abstract of the *Pictish* chronicle, according to which

(a) *Bede* l. 3. c. 4.

(b) *Bede* l. 4. c. 26.

(c) *Quindecim Scriptores Edit. Gal. Append. Nenn. p. 126.*

the reign of *Brude*, son of *Bily* king of the *Picts*, began *A. D.* 675, and ended 696. So this Battle fell out during his reign: whereas, according to the chronology of the catalogue of *Fordun* (which gives only eleven years to the reign of this *Brude* son of *Bily*, whilst both the register of *St. Andrew's*, as well as the chronicle of the *Picts* assign twenty one years to his reign) according, I say, to *Fordun's* chronology, *Brude* son of *Bily* ended his reign *A. D.* 660, about 25 years before this battle.

2°. *Ceolfred*, abbot of *Wiremouth*, wrote (a) his famous letter about *Easter*, and the *Tonsure* to *Naitan* king of the *Picts*, *A. D.* 715. And this agrees perfectly with the chronology of the foreſaid abſtract of the *Pictiſh* chronicle, according to which *Naitan* or *Neſtan*, ſon of *Derili* king of the *Picts*, reigned from *A. D.* 711, till *A. D.* 726; whereas, according to *Fordun's* catalogue, *Naitan* ended his reign *A. D.* 703, and according to the copy of the register of *St. Andrew's*, ſuch as it was ſent to me, this king *Naitan* did not begin his reign till *A. D.* 747. So they muſt be both wrong, and the abſtract alone exact.

3°. THE death of *Onnuſt* or *Oengus*, ſon of *Hurgus* or *Fergus*, king of the *Picts*, is fix'd to the

(a) Bede l. 5. c. 22.

year 761, by a short chronicle at the end of some editions of (a) *Bede*, by *Roger* (b) *Houeden*, and by (c) *Simeon of Durham*: now this agrees entirely with the supputation of the *Pictish* chronicle, according to which the death of this *Onnuft* or *Oengus* happen'd just that year 761. Whereas, according to the chronology of *Fordun's* catalogue, it would have happen'd, *A. D.* 737. about twenty-four years before its true date: and according to the account of the catalogue of *St. Andrew's*, such as I have it, it would have happen'd about forty years after its true *Epoch*: I say, such as I have it; for I doubt not but there are many errors and false readings in the transcript of it that was sent me, particularly in the numbers.

4°. *KINOTH*, or *Cineoch*, king of the *Piets*, gave a retreat in his kingdom to *Alcred* king of *Northumberland*, expelled out of his kingdom, *A. D.* 774, according to *Roger* (d) *Houeden*, and *Simeon Durham's* chronicles: and yet not only there is no account of this action honourable to the *Piets* in our *Scotish* writers; but not so much as the name of this *Kinoth* in either of our *Scotish* catalogues of the *Pictish* kings: but he is to be found in his own rank in the abstract of the *Pictish* chronicle, as well as in that given us by *Lynch* from an ap-

(a) *Coloniz* in 18°, *A. D.* 1609.

(b) *Scriptor.* fol. 231. n. 40.

(c) *Scriptor.* col. 105. n. 50.

(d) *R. Houeden & Simeon Dunelm. chron.* ad *A. D.* 774.

775 pendix to *Nennius* : and this king *Kinork's* death, according to the chronology of that *Pictish* chronicle, falls just in with the year 775, which perfectly agrees with the chronicles of *Houeden* and *Simeon Dunelm* ; but our two *Scotish* catalogues, as I said, have not one word of this king *Kinork*.

THE authority of these *English* chronicles had that weight with (a) *Langhorn*, in his chronicle of the *Pictish* kings, that he abandons here intirely *Fordun's* catalogue, which was his only guide, to follow those *English* writers nearer the times. And the reader may observe elsewhere in (b) him, that he is at last obliged to give over entirely these catalogues, not being able to reconcile them to the *Æra* of the end of the *Pictish* monarchy and its union with that of the *Scots*, about, or before the year 850 : and, having no other guide, he is forced to follow his own conjectures : whereas this famous *Æra* agrees perfectly with the *Pictish* ancient chronicle, and *Lynch's* copy from *Nennius*, as may be proved elsewhere.

MEAN-TIME, what we have shewn of the agreement of this short chronicle of the *Pictish* kings, with all the best monuments of *British* history, that mention the *Picts* in those times, is a new confirmation of its being an abstract of the true *Pictish* chronicles, done by their own wri-

(a) *Langhorn*. *Antiquit. Albionen.* pag. 300.

(b) *Idem*, pag. 301, &c.

ters, whilst their monarchy was as yet subsisting under their own name; and by consequence having been writ nearer the times of the transactions, it is more to be depended on for the chronology of the *Pictish* kings than any catalogue that hath as yet appear'd.

BUT, as it hath been said, this ought to be understood only of the latter part of this chronicle, to wit, the succession of their kings, since their conversion to christianity, in the fifth and sixth ages. For as to the first part of this chronicle, containing the succession of the *Pictish* kings before the incarnation, and even what past after the incarnation, down till the reign of *Durſt*, son of *Irb*, in the beginning of the fifth age; that first part, I say, cannot be look'd upon as a sufficient ground of history. 1°. Because we have no assurance that the *Picts* had the use of letters among them before their conversion to christianity: and what certainty can be expected of dates and particular facts past the memory of men, without the use of letters? So all that we can rely upon in the first part of that abstract is the number of **LXX.** kings before *Constantine*, as we remarked already, and at most their names, but not the dates, or years of their reigns.

BECAUSE in the second place, the incredible length of reigns ascribed in the first part of that abstract to some of these ancient *Pictish* kings, seems

to render that part of it, in the condition that we have it, very improper to become the foundation of any certain chronology or history. So that when I come to treat of the history of the northern parts of *Britain* or *Scotland* in a chronological order, having unquestionable vouchers in the *Roman* writers of what remains there are of the *Caledonian* or *Pictish* history before the fifth age; I shall begin the chronological succession of the *Pictish* kings no earlier, at most, than about the reign of *Durft*, son of *Erb* or *Irb*, that is, from about the beginning of the fifth age and downwards, to the conversion of *Brude*, son of *Meilochon*, or *Melcothon*, A. D. 565; from whence, as from a fix'd *Æra*, down to the end of the *Pictish* monarchy, or its union with that of the *Scots*, we have in this abstract an exact succession of these kings confirmed by, and conformable, as we have shewn, to the best accounts that we have of them from the *English* writers.

BUT that the reader may judge by himself of this whole matter, I shall, 1°. In the appendix to this essay, give this abstract of the *Pictish* chronicles whole and entire, such as I found it in the MS. already mentioned, without any addition or alteration, together with some other ancient pieces: being persuaded that nothing hath been more hurtful to the truth of our history, than the smothering, by contempt or neglect, ancient pieces relating to it; because, either

ther their barbarous *Latin* stile did not please the taste of our modern writers, or that the discoverers, finding such pieces clash with their new schemes of our history and antiquities, stifled them as useless or hurtful: whereas in the darkness we are in, and in the scarcity of historical monuments we labour under, by the many repeated disasters befallen them at different times, as we shall shew elsewhere, every ancient piece ought to be preserved; that by comparing them one with another, and with other certain accounts, some farther light may be had of the state of the northern inhabitants of *Britain* in ancient times.

2°. I shall, at the end of this article, set down the full catalogue of the *Pictish* kings, with the years assigned to each of their reigns in the abstract, both before and after the fifth age, down till the end of their monarchy: not that I suppose any certain account can be had of the succession of their kings (no more than of any other of the northern nations, not subject to the *Roman* empire) before they began with the preaching of the gospel to have the use of letters, as I have said; but that it may appear that the ancient people of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, as they had their bards or antiquaries as well as the *Britains* and *Irish*, so they were not behind-hand with them in setting up for as ancient a settlement and succession of kings, and upon as good grounds; which would have, no doubt, appeared, if the
Picts

Picts had continued to subsist in a distinct body of people till more polish'd times, to have rectified and reduced to the order of chronology (as others have done) the rude draughts of the ancient succession of their kings, composed by their bards in times of ignorance, such as we have them in the first part of this abstract.

AND after all, it cannot be doubted but that the *Picts*, whilst their kingdom subsisted, had historical monuments, in all appearance, as valuable as those of the old *Britains*, or of the *Irish*: since we find mention made of the ancient annals of the *Picts*, as well as of the *Scots*, in a piece written in the twelfth age, to be found in the (a) appendix. And (b) *Fordun* says he had his accounts of them from ancient monuments: and he speaks elsewhere of their chronicles and (c) histories; but at the overturning the kingdom of the *Picts*, and general devastation made in it by the *Scots* in the heat of the last wars, their chronicles, and other ancient records, sacred and civil, generally perish'd, and nothing (that we can hear of) remained, but this imperfect abstract of the succession of their kings.

AND even as to this abstract, having met with no other copy of the first part of it, that is,

(a) Append. n. 1.

(b) De veterum voluminibus, *Ford.* l. 4. c. 9.

(c) Ex eorum (Pictorum) chronicis & historiis colligitur, *Ford.* l. 3. c. 53.

in the times preceding their conversion to christianity; and there being visible errors in this, especially in the exorbitant number of years assigned to some of the reigns of the kings in those ancient times, and no means left to correct them without the help of a more exact copy: I shall, as to the chronology of these kings, follow the example of the learned Sir *James (a) Ware*, in the account he has given us of the kings of *Ireland*, before *Loegaire*, their first king that embraced the christian religion in the fifth age; and for the same reason, to wit, the uncertainty of all that past before they received with christianity the use of letters, I shall, I say, in the series I am to set down of them at the end of this article, begin the chronology of the *Pictish* kings no higher than the time of their first conversion to christianity in the fifth age, and content myself to set down from the abstract the bare names of the kings preceding that age, with the years assigned in the abstract to each of their reigns, leaving the task of calculating them, and reducing them to the order of chronology to those, who in after-times may happen to light upon other copies, by which this may be corrected.

AND that there are other copies, appears by the account that *Lynch* gives us in his book, inti-

(a) Ad prædecessores Loegarii quod attinet, eos certe consilio omisi, quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur (ut quod sentio dicam) aut fabulæ sunt, vel fabulis & anachronismis mirè admixta. *Wareus de antiq. Hybern. cap. 4. p. 20.*

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tled, (a) *Cambrensis everfus*; where he not only assures us that he found one of them in a MS. of *Nennius*, the *British* historian, but sets down the compleat catalogue of the *Pictish* kings, from *Brude* son of *Meilochon*, converted by *St. Columba*: and for a proof, that the catalogue which *Lynch* had before him was the same with this in the abstract, if he had thought fit to give it us entire, the latter part, which is all that he sets down, agrees perfectly with that of the abstract from king *Brude* down to their union with the *Scots*, not only in the names, but in the order of succession; and, making allowance for some few faults of transcribers, in the number of years assigned to each king's reign. And for a farther proof that *Lynch's* catalogue and that of the abstract were the same, they agree in every thing in which the catalogue of *St. Andrew's*, and that of *Fordun*, differ from that of the abstract.

AND I make no doubt, but that if sufficient enquiry were made, either this copy that *Lynch* made use of, might be as yet found, or some other of those that the *Irish* writers mention: for it is by no means credible, that the chief *Irish* ancient writers would have been so unanimous (as (b) we have seen they are) in asserting the number of these seventy *Pictish* kings, from the beginning down to *Constantine*, no more than in raising the

(a) *Cambren. everfus*, pag. 93.

(b) *Supra*, p. 95.

beginning of the *Pictish* monarchy as high as that of their own kings of the *Milesian* race, if they had not had, at the time they wrote, at least catalogues such as this, and other ancient monuments of it: since they could have no national interest or motive, to ascribe to a foreign people the same privilege they chiefly value themselves upon, of being one of the most ancient monarchies in the world.

NOW, that the accounts of the *Pictish* kings which the *Irish* writers had in view were the same with those of the abstract, will appear in the catalogue, I am to set down from it, by two marks or characters which the *Irish* writers give us: the one is the precise number of seventy kings till *Constantine*, who reigned in the end of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth age; the other is, that the beginning of the *Pictish* monarchy reach'd as high as that of the *Irish* kings of the *Milesian* race, from *Heremon*: and this second character of them will appear to those that will be at the pains to sum up together the years assigned in this abstract to each of these kings, to *Cruithne* the first king, from the ninth year of king *Brude* son of *Meilochon*, which answering, according to *Bede*, to the year 565 of the incarnation, is a fix'd *Æra*, by which the chronology of the *Pictish* kings must be regulated (as far as these first kings reigns are reducible to a chronological order) both before and after their conversion, down to their union with

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the *Scots* in one people, in the ninth age. I say designedly, *as far as the reigns of the ancient Pictish kings are reducible to a chronological order*, because, having no proof that the *Picts*, no more than other northern nations without the bounds of the *Roman* empire, had the use of letters before their conversion to christianity; the accounts we have of them before that time, barely from their own traditions, can be of little other use than to let us know what opinions the *Picts* themselves were of, in respect to the succession of their kings, and beginning of their monarchy, grounded upon the credit of their bards or antiquaries.

I cannot but here observe, that when I consider the difference there is betwixt the first and second part of the abstract of the chronicles of the *Picts*, before and after they received christianity, I find in it a sensible proof of what I am often obliged to mention in this essay, to wit, of the distinction that ought to be made in all pretended ancient historical monuments of the northern nations, betwixt the accounts they give of their history and antiquities, before the times that they became more cultivated and received the use of letters (which, in regard of those that never were subjects of the *Roman* empire, scarce ever happened till their conversion to christianity) and the accounts of their history, written since the use of letters was received among them. The first kind, when they are exposted in their own native dress,
such

such as they came from the first author's hand, (without being refined or corrected by posterior writers, who had more skill, and liv'd in times of greater light and learning) are generally so inconsistent with all true chronology and history, that they can be of little, or no other use, than at best to let us know what stories past current among the people, whose history they relate, at the time they were written, concerning their ancestors.

BUT as to the historical accounts we have from writers of the northern nations, of what past since they had the use of letters, I do not think that the uncertain, or even fabulous stories, that the bards have given of their remote antiquities in the dark ages, ought to hinder their posterior histories, containing accounts of what past since they had learning among them, from meeting with that acceptance from the learned in other countries, that other histories meet with, in proportion to their agreement with other received histories, and with the rules of chronology.

AND nothing can contribute so much to make these historical accounts, written in times of light and learning, be received by the learned, as to be careful to distinguish exactly betwixt them and the uncertain and fabulous relations of bards, a set of illiterate men, in ancient times; and besides, as we shall observe elsewhere, branded by all writers, ancient and modern, with the characters of

being generally govern'd in their rhapsodies by passion and interest. As nothing, on the contrary, is more capable to decry the history of any country, and take away the credit of it among the judicious and learned in other countries, than for an author to put the bards accounts of it, in remote ages, on a level with the histories written in times of learning, and to seem to give equal credit to both, and make use indifferently of them for vouchers of what an author gives for the history of his country. It is for this reason that I found it necessary to make so different a judgment of the first and second part of this abstract of the *Pictish* chronicle: as indeed it was one of the chief motives that engaged me to undertake this critical essay in general on the ancient inhabitants of our country.

BUT to return from this digression, and continue my observations on the abstract, it remains to treat of the differences that are betwixt the names, number and series of the *Pictish* kings, such as they are set down in this abstract, both in the first and second part of it, and those contained in our *Scotish* catalogues.

AS to the differences we meet with in the first part, containing the *Pictish* kings before christianity and the use of letters was received among them, it is to be observ'd, that from the disappearance of the *Picts*, as a distinct people under their

their own name, the body of the nation, since they became subject to the *Scots*, having been, by degrees, from the ninth to the twelfth, or thirteenth age, cemented and incorporated in one body of people with the *Scots*, so as to disappear under their own name; thence arose the notion of a total destruction, or extirpation of the *Picts*. And the *Scots* having already received the opinion of their own ancient settlement in *Britain* before the incarnation, their writers, by a mistaken notion of honour, as if it had been a more glorious achievement to the *Scotish* conquerors to have extirpated a whole nation, than to have simply subdued them; and, upon their subjection, to have incorporated and united them into one body of people with themselves: The *Scotish* writers, I say, upon this affected to render the *Picts* as well inferior to the *Scots* in the antiquity of their settlement in *Britain* and monarchy, as they had been in the success of their last war.

THE *Scotish* writers then having already fix'd the coming in, and first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, about four hundred years before the incarnation, thought, it seems, it would be a disparagement to them to allow the *Picts*, a people they had vanquish'd, and either quite rooted out, or forced to become their subjects, the precedency in antiquity of settlement, and an ancient succession of kings, that far transcended theirs. Therefore, every one of the *Scotish* writers, after raising
their

their own antiquity to an incredible height, seem to vye one with another, who shall bring lowest the time of the settlement of the *Picts* in *Britain*, and the beginning of their monarchy.

THE *Latin* chronicle in verse or rhyme, (set down in the (a) appendix to this work) says, that the *Pictish* kingdom lasted only 1224 years, and nine months; by consequence it could not have begun sooner than about 374 years before the birth of Christ. Another *Scotish* writer, mentioned in the additions to *Fordun's* (b) chronicle, hath it that the reign of the *Picts* lasted in all 1187 years, and nine months; and so must have begun only about 337 years before the incarnation. *Fordun* (c) says, that they reigned in *Britain* 1100 years, and more: but he quotes a writer (d) that had advanced that the *Scots* were in possession of the northern parts of the island 300 years before the *Picts*; and notwithstanding the zeal he had to raise the *Scotish* antiquities, he gives not in to that high flight, but seems willing (e) to allow a precedency of settlement to the *Picts*, or that both the *Picts* and *Scots* settled in *Britain* about the same time. In fine,

(a) Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis, & pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis, ut verum renovem, mensibus atque novem. *Append. num. 6. cap. 5.*

(b) *Scotichron.* magnum in bibl. regia, Lond. & alibi. lib. 4. c. 10.

(c) *Fordun.* lib. 4. c. 9. pag. 295. edit. Hern.

(d) *Fordun.* *ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

Winton's (a) chronicle, and others, give only 1061 years to the duration of the *Pictish* monarchy; so, according to them, it could not have begun sooner than about 211 years before the incarnation: nay, by the additions (b) to *Fordun's* chronicle, it appears, that some *Scotish* writers have gone that length to suppose that there were twenty three *Scotish* kings before the *Picts*.

IT was not so with foreign writers, who had no emulation nor quarrel with the *Picts*. For besides (c) *Ralph Higden*, from *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who says he had seen writers that gave the *Pictish* monarchy in *Britain* 1360 years of duration, that is, 510 years before the incarnation; we have seen the *Irish* (d) old writers gave the *Pictish* monarchy the same antiquity and number of kings, that we find by this abstract, the *Picts* gave themselves.

SO, upon the whole, it can scarce be doubted, but the retrenchments made by the *Scotish* writers, both in the antiquity of the *Pictish* settlement, and in the names and number of their kings, were oc-

(a) *Winton. lib. 1. c. 8, & 19.*

(b) *Quamvis quædam sunt chronice quæ Scotos asserunt præ Pictis, secundum quasdam chronicas 317, secundum alias 265 annis, 8 mensibus, & secundum alias 249 annis & tribus mensibus hanc possidere regionem. Summa regum Scotorum ante Pictos 23. Scotichron. magnum, lib. 4. c. 10.*

(c) *Polichron. edit. Gale, p. 185.*

(d) *Supra, pag. 102.*

caſioned chiefly by the motives already mention'd and made with a deſign to leſſen the *Picts*, and to raiſe the precedency of the *Scots* over them in every thing that appeared honourable to the nation.

HENCE, it ſeems, the difference we find betwixt the abſtract and the *Scotiſh* catalogues in the number of ancient *Pictiſh* kings before they embraced chriſtianity, chiefly proceeded. Our *Scotiſh* writers having, as appears, choſen out of the authentick catalogues of theſe kings, (which I cannot doubt but that they had in ancient times, eſpecially at St. *Andrew's*) ſuch a number of them, with the years of their reigns, as that all theſe years, ſummed up together, might not exceed, or even amount to the antiquity which the *Scots* had given to their own ſettlement in *Britain*. For a proof of this, it ſuffices to ſumm up the years of the *Pictiſh* reigns, as they are ſet down in the two *Scotiſh* catalogues, from the fix'd *Æra* of the ninth year of king *Brude*, ſon of *Meilochon*, concurring with the year of our Lord 565, till the beginning of the reign of *Cruithne*, firſt king of the *Picts*, and it will be found that the years of all their reigns, according to *Fordun*, amount only to 289 years before the incarnation; and thoſe of the catalogue of St. *Andrews* only to 237 at moſt: whereas the *Scotiſh* writers place the ſettlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* above 400 years before the incarnation.

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ALL this considered, I do not see that the difference which we find in the number of kings betwixt the abstract of the *Pictish* chronicle and *Scotish* catalogues, in these ancient times, can furnish any sufficient argument against the antiquity of the settlement and monarchy of the *Picts* in *Britain*, or the number of their kings, or give any just ground to doubt that the abstract is not authentick.

As to the differences which we meet with betwixt the *Scotish* catalogues of the *Pictish* kings and that of the abstract in the second part of it, that is, in the times following after the conversion of the *Picts*, from the fifth or sixth age downwards; we have already shewn that the preference is absolutely due to the series of these kings contained in the abstract, as being entirely conformable to all other *British* histories that make mention of the *Picts*; whereas the series set down in the *Scotish* catalogues cannot, without great alterations, be made to agree with them: so the chief use that can be made of these catalogues is to help to rectify some of the names set down in the abstract, in which the writer appears to have often followed the *Irish* or *Gaelick* idiotism in the pronunciation and spelling of the names, which makes many of them appear very different from the same names, as they are set down in the *Scotish* catalogues; but I shall leave the judgment of that to those that are

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more skilled in the old *Scotish* or *Irish* language, after setting down my own remarks upon the subject.

AND in the first place these alterations and changes are very common in all copies of catalogues of ancient proper names, which by length of time are grown out of use; especially when transcribed by those who did not understand the language of the people, whose names they are, which is certainly the present case; besides those variations which the negligence, as well as the ignorance of transcribers is ordinarily the cause of: so that the oftner they are transcribed the more they are disfigured, each transcriber adding new faults of his own to those that he found before: whence it happens, that in length of time they appear quite different names. This may be observed in the names set down in the genealogical series of the kings of *Scotland*, as we meet with them in most of our modern *Scotish* writers, both M.S. and printed, when compared with copies written by those that knew the old *Scotish* or *Gaelick* language. The same kind of variations happen in the *British* or *Welsh* tongue, as may be seen in *Humphrey (a) Lhuyd's* description of *Britain*.

IT is then no wonder that the like alterations and variety should be met with in the different copies of the names of the *Pictish* kings, these being more ancient, and oftner transcribed by wri-

(a) H. Ludd, Fragment, Brit. descript. fol. 1, 2, 3.

ters of different languages and pronunciation: but as these alterations are frequent, not only in the names of the *Pictish* kings, but in those also of the ancient *Scotish* kings, and in general throughout most words of the old *Scotish* or *Gaelick*, the same with the *Irish*, which (to speak grammatically) frequently appear quite different in the oblique cases from what they are in the nominative; for these reasons I shall here venture to set down some general remarks that may contribute to reconcile the various ways of spelling, in which we find these names in the several copies that we have of the ancient *Scotish* and *Pictish* kings.

AND 1°. 'Tis to be observed, that in most other languages, both vulgar, and in the *Greek* and *Latin*, the alterations by which the oblique cases in nouns are distinguish'd from the nominative, fall generally upon the final syllables or terminations; whereas in *Gaelick* or old *Scotish*, the same with the *Irish*, these alterations fall upon the first or second syllable, and sometimes on both. 2°. This alteration in *Gaelick* is generally marked by adding an H, or, to abridge, by adding simply a point which stands for an H, above the first or second consonant of the oblique cases. 3°. The effect of this additional H is different, according to the nature of the different consonants to which it is joined. Thus H added to B and M, makes them pronounced V, W, or F. Thus we find *Domnall*, which in the oblique cases is written *Domnbuil*, pronounced

and written *Dovenal*, or *Dofnal*. H being added to C and P, they are pronounced Ch, Ph. D with an H is pronounced G or C; as *Macdhanuil*, pronounced *Macgonuel* or *Maconuil*. H ~~breaks~~ G breaks it into U, or W; as *Eogan*, written *Eoghan* in the oblique, is pronounced *Ewen*, or *Uwen*; turned into *Evenus* by our modern writers. F, S, T, joined to H, do commonly lose their sound, and the H alone is pronounced; as *Fergus*, *Fhergus*, pronounced *Hergus*; whence *Hurgus*, *Urguist*.

BESIDES these there are; 1°. Changes of consonants, such as F into V and W, D into T, and reciprocally. 2°. Changes of Vowels, A into I; as *Mac* a son, *Mhic*, pronounced *Vic*, of a son. I into U; as *Bride* and *Brude* are the same name. Oe into U and A; as *Oengus*, *Hungus*, *Unnust* and *Angus* are all the same: so are also *Brude*, *Brede*, *Bride*; likewise *Durft*, *Druft*, and *Drest*; and these, *Fothe*, *Fathe*, and *Wide*, F being pronounced W. and in old MSS. in the Saxon character, the Saxon Th, written ð, is mistaken by transcribers for a D. *Feredeth* and *Wredeth*; *Feret* and *Wred*, all the same. The C is always pronounced K; as *Cineoch*, *Cainach*, *Kinoth* and *Keneth* are the same name; and *Naitan*, *Nectan* and *Nethan*. 'Tis to be also remark'd, that in MSS. of the fifteenth age, the Ch and Th are written generally so alike one to another, that they can scarce be distinguish'd. Hence arise the common mistakes of our modern writers in the names

Eocha,

Eocha, *Echach*, *Erch*, &c. which they call *Etbo-diūs*, *Erth*, &c. which in general is a sure sign that the copies they followed were of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth age, as we shall see elsewhere. Thus I have met with one of our kings names vulgarly *Achajus*, but in the *Gælick*, *Eocha*; I have met with it, in different MSS. in these nine different forms; *Eocha*, *E-achach*, *Echach*, *Ethach*, *Eochuid*, or *Eoghuid*, *Eokal*, *Ethafi*, *Achajus*, *Achilaus*. All this by the mistakes of transcribers. 'Tis also to be remarked, that the same Th or Ch is, by a like mistake, or false reading, changed in the termination of names, oftentimes in a D or ð; as *Ethod* or *Ethad*, for *Eccbach* or *Eochach*; and sometimes in L, as *Eokal* for *Eochach*, *Kenel* for *Keneth*, in *Gælick*, *Cineoch*; the C *Gælick*, as I observed above, being pronounced K. By the same errors of transcribers the name of one of our kings in *Gælick*, *Gabran*, in the nominative case, is *Gabhbran* in the oblique, and pronounced *Gavran*, or *Gauran*, which our modern writers have turned into *Gouran*, *Goran*, and *Conranus*. By these and such other observations, and a necessary allowance for the faults of transcribers, such of the names of the *Pictish* kings as are in the *Scotish* catalogues may be easily reconciled, and will be found the same generally as those in the abstract, however they appear at first to be different.

Series or Succession of the Pictish Kings, according to the Abstract of their Chronicles, set down in the Appendix, Number 2. under the Title it bears in the MS. of Chronica de origine Antiquorum Pictorum.

FIRST PART.

<i>Kings Names.</i>	<i>Reigned.</i>
1 C Ruidne, or Cruithne, son of Cinge, or Kinne, father of the Picts, dwelling in this island	100
2 Circui 60.	
3 Fidaich 40.	
4 Forteim 70.	
5 Flocloid 30.	
6 Got. 12.	
7 Ce, i. e. Cecircum 15.	
8 Fibaid (a) 24.	
9 Gedeolgudach	80
10 Denbacan	10
11 Olfinecta	60
12 Guididgaedbrecach	50

(a) All these seven are in the abstract called sons, which may be understood descendants of *Cruithne*: but supposing they were all sons of *Cruithne*, it follows that they must have all reigned at the same time with him, and have had different portions of *Albany* assigned to each of them under their father, as *reguli*, princes or governors each of a province; and so of the seven provinces into which *Albany* was anciently divided, according to the old description of it set down in the appendix, n. 1.

13 Gestgurtich

Of the Caledonians, or Picts. 135

Kings Names.	Reigned.
13 Gestgurtich	40
14 Wurgest	30
15 Brudebout (a)	48
16 Gilgidi	101
17 Tharan	100
18 Morleo	15
19 Deocilunan	40
20 Cimoiod fil. Arcois	7
21 Deord	50
22 Blicibliterth	5
23 Deftoteric frater Diu	40
24 Usconbut	30
25 Carvorst	40
26 Deoartavois	20
27 Uist	50
28 Ru	100
29 Gartnaithboc	4
30 Vere	9
31 Breth. fil. Buthut	7
32 Vipoignamet	30

(a) The M S. adds, that from this *Brudebout* there descended thirty kings of the name of *Brude*, who reigned during 150 years in *Ireland* and in *Albany*; their names are set down thus. *Brude Pant. Brude Urpant. Brude Leo. Brude Uleo. Brude Gant. Brude Urgant.* And the rest that may be seen in the piece itself in the appendix.

I shall only here remark, that according to this piece, it seems there was in ancient times a colony of *Picts* ^{in Ireland} Whither the *Crutbnii*, or *Crutbinii*, mentioned by (b) *Usher* from *Adamnan*, were the descendants of those?

(b) *Usher. antiq. Brit. p. 302.*

Kings Names.	Reigned.
33 Canutulachama	4
34 Wradach vechla	2
35 Garnaichdi uber	60
36 Talore filius Achivir	75
37 Drust. fil. Erp.	

BOTH the abstract and copy of St. *Andrew's* have *Drust fil. Erp* or *Urb, regn. or rexit C. annis & C. bella peregit*; where there is a palpable error in both these copies in the word *regn. or rexit*, being written instead of *vixit*, as both a copy quoted by (a) *Fordun* and that of *James Gray*, taken from the old records of St. *Andrew's*, have it in these words; *Drust* or *Durst, fil. Urb* or *Irb, 100 an. vixit, & 100 bella peregit*. And *Fordun* adds, that he reigned only forty-five years; according to which, summing up the reigns of the other *Pictish* kings, as they are set down exactly in the abstract, from the year of Christ 565, concurring with the ninth of the reign of *Brude* son of *Meilochon* (which is the *Æra* by which all the reigns of these kings are to be regulated) according to *Fordun's* account, I say, which assigns forty five years to the reign of this *Durst*; the beginning of it will answer to the year 406, and it will end, *A. D.* 451, when he was succeeded by *Talore* or *Talarg* son of *Amyl*.

By this calculation it appears that it was, during the reign of this *Durst*, that the gospel was first preached to the *Picts* by St. *Ninian*, in the beginning of the fifth century, and afterwards by St. *Palladius* and St. *Patrick* to the *Scots* and *Irish*, betwixt *A. D.* 430 and 440: and here ends the first part of the abstract of the *Pictish* chroni-

(.) Ford. lib. 4. cap. 10.

eles,

cles, which contains the account of the succession of their kings in the times of ignorance, preceding their conversion to christianity, when 'tis like they first received the use of letters. So 'tis no wonder that this first part of the abstract is not conformable to the rules of chronology, with which the first compilers of it were probably very little acquainted, besides the many errors occasioned by the negligence or ignorance of transcribers. For these reasons, as I have already remarked, I have not attempted to reduce this first part to the order of chronology, as I am about to do the second, which is an easy work, being entirely conformable to the rules of chronology, and all we meet with in history concerning the *Picts*.

SECOND PART.

<i>Kings Names.</i>		<i>Began to Reign. Reigned.</i>		
37	Druft. fil. Erp or Irb	406	45	
38	Talore fil. Aniel	451	4	
39	Necton morbet fil. Erp. (a)	455	25	
40	Drest Gurthinmoth	480	30	
41	Galanau etelich	510	12	
42	Dadrest	522	1	
43	{ Drest fil. Gyrom	reigned together	523	1
	{ Drest fil. Udrest		524	5
	Drest fil. Gyrom solus	529	5	
44	Gartnach fil. Gyrom.	534	7	
45	Cealtrain fil. Gyrom.	541	1	
46	Talorg. fil. Muircholaich	542	11	
47	Drest fil. Munait	553	1	
48	Galam cum Aleth	55	1	
—————cum Brideo		555	1	

(a) *Tertio anno regni ejus Darlugtach Abbatisa, &c.* as in the abstract in the appendix, n. 2.

T

49 Bride

<i>Kings Names.</i>	<i>Began to Reign. Rē.</i>
49 Bride fil. Mailcon, five Meilochon (a)	556 30
50 Gartnaich fil. Domelch	586 18
51 Neetan nepos Uerb.	597 20
52 Cineoch fil. Luthrn	617 19
53 Garnard fil. Wid.	636 4
54 Bridei fil. Wid.	640 5
55 Talore frater eorum	645 12
56 Talorcan fil. Enfret	657 4
57 Gartnait fil. Donnel	661 6
58 Dreft frater ejus	667 7
59 Bridei fil. Bili (b)	674 28
60 Taran fil. Entifidich	695 4
61 Bredei fil. Derili	699 11
62 Neetan seu Naitan fil. Derili (c)	710 15
63 Dreft & Alpin, reigned together	725 5
64 Onnuft five Oengus fil. Urguft five } Fergus (d)	730 31
65 Bredei fil. Uiurguft	761 2

(a) VIII Anno regni ejus baptizatus est a St. Columba. So the M S. of the abstract hath it, where there is wanting a fourth I. after the V to make it VIIII, that is, the ninth year of Brude's reign, as Bede hath it.

(b) This is he who killed in battle Egfrid king of Northumberland, and destroyed most of his army, A. D. 685, as we have elsewhere shewn from Bede and the continuator of Nennius, *supra* pag. 111.

(c) It was to this king Naitan that Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, wrote the famous Letter about Easter and the Tonsure, A. D. 715, as we have shewn from Bede's history, and his life of Ceolfrid, *supra* pag. 112.

(d) This Onnuft's death is marked by Roger Housden and Simeon of Durham in the year 761, conformable to the supputation of this chronicle, *supra* pag. 113.

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Kings Names.	Began to Reign. A.D.
66 Kiniod five Kinoth fil. Wirdech (a)	763 12
67 Elpin five Alpin fil. Wroid	775 3 1/2
68 Drest five Durst fil. Talorgan	779 4 1/2
69 Talargan fil. Onnuft	783 2 1/2
70 Canaul fil. Tarla (b)	786 5
Castantin five Constantine fil. Ur-}	791 30
guist five Fergus	
Unnuft five Hungus fil. Urguist	821 12
Drest fil. Constantine & Talorgan fil. }	833
Uthoil, reigned together (c)	
Uwen fil. Unnuft five Eogan fil. }	836 3
Hungu	
Wrad. fil. Bargoit. Keneth - Mac }	839 3
Alpin Rex Scotorum	
Bred five Brude	842 3
(d) Keneth Mac-Alpin, king of Albany	843 16

Here ends the series of the *Pictish* kings, according to the abstract and *Lynch's* catalogue: and this period agrees perfectly with the *Era* of the beginning of *Keneth Mac-Alpin's* reign over all *Albany*, which, according to all ancient writers that treat of it, lasted 16 years. For king *Keneth* died

(a) It was to this king *Kineth* that *Alfred* king of *Northumberland* fled for refuge, A. D. 774, as *Hoveden* and *Simeon* have recorded it: they also fix his death to the year 775. *Supra* p. 114.

(b) These are the seventy *Pictish* kings that succeeded one after another from *Cruitbne* to *Constantine*, mentioned in the most ancient histories of *Ireland*.

(c) The *Scotish* catalogues join these two kings names in one and call him *Durstelorg*, which is a visible error.

(d) *Keneth Mac-Alpin* king of *Albany*, having subdued the *Picts*, reigned sixteen years.

idib. Februar. feria tertia, according to a short, but ancient chronicle of the first kings of *Albany*, to be found here in the appendix, *num. 3.* taken from the MS. of *Colbert's* library, already mentioned. Now this character of the *Ides*, or thirteenth day of *February*, concurring with the third *Ferie*, which is, *Tuesday*, can only agree to the year 858, which is according to the account now in use, the year 859, and by no means to the year 854, where, according to *Fordun* and our *Scotish* historians, *Keneth's* death is placed. Now subtracting the sixteen years of *Keneth's* reign over all *Albany* from *A. D.* 858 or 859, the beginning of it, and by consequence the period of the *Pictish* monarchy, under their own name, must have happened *A. D.* 842 or 843, which perfectly agrees with the abstract of their chronicles, and is a new confirmation of the authentickness and exactness of the second part of it, down from the time that the gospel was preached to the *Picts*, and shews the preference that it deserves before all the *Scotish*, or any other catalogues.

As to the three *Pictish* kings, *Keneth*, *Brude*, and *Durft* or *Drusken*, that are added in the *Scotish* catalogues after *Brude*, the last *Pictish* king, set down in the abstract, and by *Lynch*, if there were any such, 'tis like that they have been set up one after another with the title of kings, by a party of the *Picts* that stood out, and continued to dispute *Keneth Mac-Alpin's* right during the six
years

years assigned to their reigns, after *Keneth* was generally own'd king of all *Albany*. But I may have occasion to treat this matter more distinctly in the second part of this essay.

ART. VIII. *Of the union of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms in one monarchy.*

ALL our writers do agree, that the union of the kingdoms of the *Picts* and *Scots* happen'd towards the middle of the ninth age; that *Keneth Mac-Alpin* was the first monarch of the united kingdoms. All our modern writers do also agree, that as *Keneth* was by hereditary succession king of the *Scots*, he had an equal title to the kingdom of the *Picts*, in the right of his father *Alpin*, son to *Eocha*, or *Achajus*. *Alpin* having laid claim to the *Pictish* crown as next heir, after the death of king *Eogan*, son to *Hungus*, whose daughter *Fergusia* being married to *Achajus* king of the *Scots*, convey'd to her son *Alpin* the right to the *Pictish* crown, preferable to any other pretender, after the death of his uncle *Eogan*.

THIS account of the title and claim of the *Scottish* kings to the *Pictish* crown, as next heirs by right of blood, is unanimously delivered by all our *Scottish* writers after *Fordun*; such as *Boece* (a),

(a) Boeth. l. 10.

Buchanan,

Buchanan (a), *Lefly* (b), *Chambers* (c), &c. *Fordun* (d) indeed does not specify, as they do, the particular degree of blood and relation on which the claim of the *Scotish* kings was grounded; yet he tells us, that the king of *Scots* laid claim as heir to the *Pictish* crown, and that this claim was the ground of the quarrel that occasioned the last war betwixt the *Picts* and the *Scots*; and when he seems afterwards to be in doubt about the cause of the overthrow of their kingdom, 'tis clear he means there the first cause, by his recurring to the judgments of God on that people for their sins; and the other examples (e) he brings at large of the overthrow of kingdoms and states for their sins, do all prove that this was his meaning. Another writer, set down here in the (f) appendix, more ancient than *Fordun*, specifies more particularly the sins of the *Picts* that brought the judgments of God upon them: but it is evident, that both these last writers speak of the first and original causes of the overthrow of the *Pictish* kingdom, and not of the immediate cause or occasion of the last war betwixt the *Scots* and the *Picts*. There's no doubt in general, but that those heavy judgments of Almighty God, by which king-

(a) Buchan. lib. 6. fol. 57. in Dugal.

(b) Lefl. lib. 5. pag. 180.

(c) David. Chambr. d'Ormond. fol. 99.

(d) Fordun. l. 3. c. 53.

(e) Idem. l. 4. c. 5, 6, 7.

(f) Append. n. 3.

doms,

doms, states, and empires are overthrown, are generally drawn upon them by the sins and wickedness of the inhabitants : but we are enquiring here into the immediate cause of the last war betwixt the *Picts* and *Scots*, whereby such great numbers of the leading men among the *Picts* were cut off, and which ended in the extinction of the *Pictish* monarchy in their own name : and *Fordun* informs us it was occasioned, as we have observed, by the *Scots* laying claim to the *Pictish* crown ; and all our posterior historians set down in particular the ground of this claim as we have related it ; and in this they are followed by (a) *English* and (b) *Irish* authors that have wrote concerning this point. Nor are our modern historians contradicted in this by other more ancient writers, as they are in what they relate of our remote antiquities : besides, that there being, no doubt, several historical monuments extant in the time of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, that are now perish'd, of the affairs of *Scotland*, since the reign of *Fergus* son of *Erch*, there is ground to believe that they would not have been so positive and particular in the account they give of the right of the kings of *Scotland* to the *Pictish* crown, if they had not found ancient authority for it, especially considering this fact could be of no use, to what appears to have been the principal design they aimed at in their history, of which in its proper place.

(a) Holingshead, p. 169.

(b) Kenedy Geneal. p. 182, 184.

AND this account of our kings claiming an hereditary right to the kingdom of the *Picts*, is confirmed by the title of kings of the *Picts* given to *Keneth Mac-Alpin* and some of his successors, after the union of the two kingdoms, as we shall presently shew. But the great men among the *Picts*, having in prejudice of king *Alpin's* right set up for a king one *Feret*, otherwise called *Wred*, of the *Pictish* blood, thence ensued a war betwixt the two nations, in which king *Alpin* was taken and put to death by the *Picts*. To him succeeded his son *Keneth*, who having by a stratagem inspired the *Scots* with courage, whom their late defeat had much disheartned, the war was renewed, and carried on with greater eagerness on both sides, and at last proved fatal to the *Picts*, who being several times defeated, and great numbers of the most warlike and leading men of the *Picts* being cut off, the rest submitted; and so the whole kingdom being subdued by *Keneth*, was united into one with that of the *Scots*.

By this it appears, that whatever opposition king *Keneth* might have met with at first in his pretensions to the *Pictish* crown from the generality of the nation, he having asserted his title by his victories, and at last, by their submission, became lawful sovereign, as well of the *Picts* as of the *Scots*; not only by conquest, but in the right of his father *Alpin*, only lawful heir of both, and
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was the first monarch of all *Albany* or *Scotland*; and all our kings being ever since lineally descended of him, are by consequence lawful successors, as well of the *Pictish* as of the *Scotish* kings, and may equally reckon the number of their royal predecessors from the first king of the *Picts*, as from the first of the *Scots*. And thus independently of the royal line of the *Scots* come from *Ireland*, the kings of *Scotland* were in the royal line of the *Picts*, and as succeeding to the *Pictish* kings by the right of blood, and by that of conquest, the most ancient monarchs in *Europe*; and this with the concurring testimony both of our own historians and of those of *Ireland*.

ART. IX. *That the present inhabitants of Scotland are as well the off-spring and race of the Picts, as of the Scots.*

BUT not only the ancient succession of the *Pictish* monarchy subsisted still in the *Scotish* line by king *Keneth*, and his posterity, lawful heirs of the *Pictish* kings, as well by blood as by conquest; but the body of the *Pictish* people, all over these provinces of *Scotland*, which were possessed by them, having submitted to *Keneth*, and own'd his title, remained still for the most part, and their posterity after them: and the *Picts*, after the union, are often mentioned by their own name; till by degrees, in succeeding ages, they were thoroughly intermixed and incorporated into one

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people with the *Scots*. In the same manner as the ancient *Gauls* and the *Franks*, the ancient *Spaniards* and the *Goths*, and so many other nations which, upon the decay of the *Roman* empire, seized upon the several provinces of it, grew up, by frequent alliances and intermarriages, into one people with the ancient inhabitants ; so that it were impossible, at present, for the generality of private families, to discover or make out, of which of the two, whether of the ancient or later inhabitants, they are the descendents.

FROM this mixture of the *Picts* with the *Scots*, it followed that the *Scots* being the governing nation, and the *Picts* becoming their subjects, the name of the former prevailed, and that of the *Picts* was eclipsed by degrees, as both these people grew into one in the following ages, after their being united under one monarch ; so that after the twelfth age, we have no farther account of the *Picts* as a distinct people in *Scotland*. The *Pictish* language ceased also as a distinct language from the *Gaelick*, or old *Scotish*, which being, at the time of the union of the two kingdoms, the language of the court, and of the ruling part of the united kingdoms, got soon the upper hand of the *Pictish* ; and this last did so much the sooner and more easily disappear, as the change from the one language to the other, was very easy and natural ; the *Pictish* and *Gaelick*, as well as the *British*, being, as far as appears, but three different dialects

dialects of the same mother-tongue, to wit, the *Celtick*.

AND as we see the *English* tongue, (being a compound of *Saxon* and *French*, originally *Gothick*, and so entirely different from the *Gælick*) hath since the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*, at which time the *Saxon* began to be the language of the court, and daily more that of the governing part of the kingdom of *Scotland*, so wore out by degrees the *Gælick* or ancient *Scotish*, (tho' the native language of the inhabitants) that it is almost reduced to the corners and extremities of the kingdom; the like happened to the *Pictish* language: the *Saxon* to the south, and the *Gælick* to the north of the *Frisbs*, gaining such ground daily upon it, that at last it was quite extinct. Thus both the name of the *Picts*, and their language, were so worn out by the middle of the twelfth age, that we have from that time no more account of them, as a distinct people from the *Scots*, than if the whole race of them had been cut off like one man that had left no posterity.

THIS universal disappearance of the *Picts*, and of their language, gave occasion to *Henry Huntington* (a), an *English* historian, about the middle of the twelfth age, to write that *the Picts seemed then so far extinct, and their language so utterly de-*

(a) Hen. Hunting. hist. l. i. f. 171.

stroyed, that all that was recorded of them in ancient history, appeared a meer fable. Upon which, he makes a good moral reflexion on the uncertainty of human things: but *Huntington* lived at a distance from *Scotland*, and was not so well acquainted with the transactions, even of his own time, in the north, betwixt the *Scots* and *English*, as was *Richard Prior of Hexham*, who lived in the time, and near the borders, and gives us this account, that in the famous battle of the *Standard*, *A. D.* 1138, a part of the *Scots* army, under king *David*, was composed of *Picts*, as we shall afterwards more fully set down.

HOWEVER, this extinction of the *Pictish* language, and of their name, as a distinct people from the *Scots*, gave rise to the story of a general massacre made of them by king *Keneth*; which, by posterior historians, was improved to a total extirpation of the race of *Picts*, man, woman and child: so in the writers after the twelfth age, and downwards, we frequently meet with expressions importing, that king *Keneth* destroyed them, *destruxit & delevit Pictos*. *Fordun* and *Buchanan* make some exceptions, as we shall observe: but *Boece* (a), after relating many general massacres of the *Picts* by *Keneth's* order, brings him in making a most barbarous decree to kill man, woman and child, and executing it accordingly upon all the

(a) Boeth. hist. Scot. l. 10. f. 198. n. 60, 70, &c. f. 200. n. 1, 10.

remains of the *Pictish* race, who, he says, had got together in the *Utopian* city of *Camelodunum* in *Pictland*. But, in reality, the story of such a general destruction, and rooting out of a whole nation more numerous and powerful than the *Scots* themselves, is both improbable and repugnant to the truth of history.

FOR, in the first place, not to insist upon the barbarity of such an inhuman action, as the cutting off a whole nation without distinction of age, sex, or quality, would have been; the thing in itself seems incredible, that *Keneth*, by the assistance of the *Scots* only, could so far become master of all the *Pictish* nation, as to be able to extirpate it, if we consider the large possessions and extent of the *Pictish* territories, which, as we have shewn, far exceeded the *Scotish*, as they did in number and strength: the *Scots* being confined as yet to some of the western provinces and isles, nothing less than a miracle could have effected such a total overthrow. Whereas, in the supposition I make after our historians, that king *Keneth* succeeded to the *Pictish* throne, with the opposition only of most of the chief of their leading men, whilst many of the rest of them favoured his title, the union of the two kingdoms might be more easily compassed, and his right asserted by ordinary course.

If we consider, 2°. the situation of affairs in *Britain* about *Keneth's* time, and that (a) the *Danes*, (who about the end of the eighth century, had invaded *Ireland*, and ravaged the isle of *Ycolmkill*, at the one end of *North Britain* and *Holy Island*, and the northern parts of *England* at the other): that these *Danes*, during *Keneth's* reign, invaded *Britain* with great fleets; if, I say, all this be consider'd, it would have been the most impolitick thing *Keneth* could have done, and against all the dictates of prudence, to have so far weakened his united kingdom, as totally to cut off the best part and strength of the inhabitants, and expose his depopulated kingdom as an easy prey to any invader; besides the bad consequences of the greatest part of it lying uncultivated, the *Scots* alone not being able, for many ages, to come to make up the number of the ancient inhabitants, and cultivate their lands: and yet all this must have happened, if the *Picts* were utterly extirpated, as *Boece* and others will have it.

3°. As to *John Furdun* (b), tho' he says, in one place, that *Keneth* used the *Picts* with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex, yet this was only in the first heat and fury of war; for he says elsewhere, that the strength of the *Pictish* forces

(a) *Waræi Antiq. Hyber.* p. 120, 122. *Sim. Dunelm. X. Script. Houeden*, f. 232. n. 30.

(b) *Fordun*, l. 4. c. 4. p. 660.

being

being crush'd in several battles, and most of their leading men cut off or fleeing, the generality of the *Picts* submitted, and *Keneth* (a) marched through their provinces, and received into peace and allegiance the harmless people. Now to conceive how far this account, given by *Fordun*, reaches of the harmless people thorough all the *Pictish* provinces submitting to *Keneth*, it suffices to remark, besides what we have shewn elsewhere of the extent of the *Pictish* provinces, what, according to *Jo. Major* (b), king *Robert Bruce* told his soldiers at the battle of *Banocburn*, That *Keneth* possessed scarcely the third part of Scotland when he overcame the *Picts*: and since the *Picts* possessed almost all the rest, and there is no certain account of any considerable alteration among the inhabitants since *Keneth's* time, it seems clearly to follow, that a great part of the commons on the north-side of the *Friiths*, and many on the south, are of *Pictish* extraction.

(c) *BUCHANAN* also, tho' he seems in his history to follow *Boece*, his constant guide, and to assert a general massacre of the *Picts*, yet in his

(a) [*Kenethus*] Quasque provincias regni Pictorum peragrando, populum imbellem sub fide pacis suscepit. *Fordun*, l. 4. c. 8. p. 662.

(b) Tertiam hujus regni portionem vix Kenedus noster habuit, quando superbissimos, pugnacissimosque Pictos fudit. *Jo. Major. hist. Scot.* l. 5. c. 2. fol. 85.

(c) *Buchanan. hist.* l. 5. fol. 49.

preliminary (a) dissertations on the *British* antiquities, contained in the three first books of his history, and much more elaborate than the history itself. In these, I say, he limits the destruction of the *Picts* to those bearing arms, and doubts not but there remained still, after that, great numbers of the *Picts*, intermixed with the *Scots*.

4°. SUCH an universal massacre of a powerful nation, famous in all ancient and modern histories, could not fail to be recorded, as one of the most memorable events that happened in that age, in all histories, if not of *Europe*, at least in those of *Britain* and *Ireland* in the neighbourhood: for we have none of our own now remaining till many ages after that time; and yet there is not only nothing recorded of the utter destruction or extirpation of the *Picts* by the *Scots*; but not so much as any notice or indication of any such thing in any historian, either within or without *Britain* or *Ireland*, neither of the ninth age, when this destruction of the *Picts* is said to have happened; nor in any writer for 300 years after, till by length of time the *Pictish* language being worn out, and the *Picts* and *Scots* thoroughly united under one name of *Scots*; so that neither the name or language of *Picts* appearing more, gave occasion to *Huntington*, and others after him, to write, that the *Picts* seemed quite abolished, because they heard no more of them by that name.

(a) [*Pictorum reliquias.*] Extinctâ militari setate multas fuisse oportet. *Busben.* l. 2. f. 16. n. 30.

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NOT only no historian for 300 years after the union of *Picts* and *Scots* takes any notice, or gives so much as the least insinuation of this total subversion of the *Picts*, but on the contrary they mention them as still in being long after that, as we shall remark afterwards: and the accounts we have from the best historians of our neighbourhood concerning the *Picts*, about the times of king *Keneth* and his successors, not only contradict the barbarous notion of a total extirpation, but exactly agree with the scheme of the union of the *Picts* and *Scots* under one monarch, and of king *Keneth*'s succeeding by an hereditary right to the *Pictish* kings, as I have above set down. Thus *Keneth* and his successors, as we have already observed, are called kings of the *Picts* in the appendix to *Nennius* the *British* historian, quoted by (a) *Lynch*, in the *Ulster* annals, as (b) *Usher* and (c) *O. Flaherty* have remarked; and *Keneth* is stiled king of the *Picts* by *Caradock* the *Welsh* historian, according to the same (d) *Usher*: from which it follows, not only that the *Picts* subsisted after the union of the two kingdoms made by *Keneth*, since it had been ridiculous for him or his successors to assume the title of kings of a people

(a) *Lynch* Cambren. Eversus, pag. 93.

(b) *Usher*. antiq. Brit. p. 375.

(c) *Flaherty* Ogygia, p. 483, 484, &c.

(d) *Usher*. antiq. Brit. p. 375. *Vardæi* in vit. S. *Rumoldi*.

that were no more in being; for *Keneth* is called *Rex Pictorum*, and not *Rex Pictiniae* or *Pictaviae*, which were the names of their kingdom.

AND I doubt not, but that if we had extant any writer of our own country contemporary to, or near the time of the union of the *Scots* and *Picts*, we should find *Keneth* and his successors recorded, as well kings of the *Picts* as of the *Scots*, and also meet with abundance of proofs of the *Picts* subsisting after the union: but we have no writers now remaining of any note, till long after the name of *Picts*, as well as the people themselves, by being incorporated and intermixed thoroughly into one people with the *Scots*, as entirely disappeared, as if they had been quite rooted out: so no wonder if our later writers gave not to *Keneth* or his successors the title of king of a people, whom they supposed were no more in being. And thence it happened, that tho' 'tis not to be doubted but *Fordun*, and such other of our writers as wrote after him, in the fourteenth and fifteenth age, had before them more ancient histories which might have afforded greater light into the *Pictish* affairs: yet all these later writers, struck with the total disappearance of the *Pictish* people and language, thought it a greater honour to *Keneth* and the *Scots*, according to the depraved taste of those ignorant times, to set them out, as having generally extirpated such a numerous and powerful people, than to have barely subdued them, and united them into one people with their own. I.T.

IT was not so with the other foreign writers in our neighbourhood whom I have mentioned before. They were not concerned, or perhaps informed whether the *Picts* were in those times distinctly known or not; but not being struck with the impression which their universal disappearance made upon the *Scots*; and being unconcerned in the false honour of a total extirpation, they delivered with simplicity such accounts as they found of the *Picts* in their more ancient historians, which (a) *Caradock*, and the (b) author of the appendix of *Nennius* among the *Welch*, and (c) *Tigernack*, as well as the *Ulster* annals among the *Irish*, had perused. And what is farther remarkable in the two last (to wit, *Tigernack*'s chronicle and the *Ulster* annals, two of the most authorized pieces among the *Irish* writers) they are both most particular in their accounts of the succession and reigns of the kings of the *Scots*, both before and after their union with the *Picts*, (and *Tigernack* wrote in the eleventh age before the name of the *Picts* was out of use) and yet neither of them give so much as any insinuation of the pretended extirpation of the *Picts*, but quite the contrary; for in the same manner as since king *James* the sixth's accession to the throne of *England*, he and his successors have been called frequently, by

(a) *Usser. antiq.* p. 375.

(b) *Lynch Cambren. Everf.*

(c) *Usser. ibid.*

foreign or *English* writers, kings of *England*, from the more numerous and powerful kingdom; by others, kings of *Great Britain*, from the two kingdoms united: so the *Ulster* annals, and *Tigernack*, who call all king *Keneth's* predecessors simply kings of *Scots*, or of *Dalredia*, change the style insensibly after *Keneth's* accession to the *Pictish* throne: and some of them, as the *Ulster* annals, and the appendix to *Nennius*, call *Keneth* and his successors kings of the *Picts*, from the more numerous and powerful people; others, as *Tigernack*, call them, kings of *Albany*, from the united kingdom.

BUT it is not only the silence of the *Welsh* and *Irish* authors, on the pretended extirpation of the *Picts*; and their continuing to mention the *Picts*, after their union with the *Scots* as before, as a people still dwelling in *Albany*, that attest the *Picts* continued subsisting after king *Keneth's* time but we have no less clear proofs of the same matter from the *Saxon* or *English* historians or writers in every age, down to the twelfth.

THE most ancient of them, who lived near to the time of the union of the *Picts* and *Scots*, is *Afferius Menevensis*, who, though in his chronicle he gives an account of the transactions of those times, not only of what passed in *Britain*, but in *France*; yet he hath not one word of so remarkable an event, as the extirpation of the *Picts*, which he could not have omitted, had there been any such thing,

thing, they having been one of the most ancient and powerful nations in *Britain*; especially having mentioned them on much less occasions. But as a demonstration that he was far from thinking them extinct in *Keneth's* time, he (a) speaks of them by name, *A. D.* 875, as being, with other people of the island, harrassed by the *Danes*. Moreover, the *Saxon* (b) chronicle and (c) *Ethelwerd*, two of the most ancient *Saxon* writers after *Afferius*, as they are entirely silent on the pretended extinction of the *Picts*, so they both mention them as a people still subsisting in *Albany*, upon occasion of that irruption of the *Danes*, *A. D.* 875; and thus much for the ninth age, in which the union was made.

THAT the *Picts* were still subsisting in the tenth age, and made a part of the subjects of the kings of *Albany* or *Scotland*, we have plain proof from the same *Ethelwerd* (d), in his chronicle, *A. D.* 937; and more particularly from (e) *Ingulfus* his contemporary, who both relate that the *Picts* made a part of the army of *Constantine* king of *Albany*, at the battle of *Brunford*, against *Adelstan* king of the *Saxons*. In the eleventh age, we have accounts of the *Picts* still known by their own name, in the

(a) *Affer. chron.* p. 165. edit. Gale.

(b) *Chron. Saxon.* p. 83. edit. Gibson.

(c) *Ethelwerd*, fol. 481.

(d) *Ethelwerd*. f. 483.

(e) *Ingulf.* p. 37. edit. an. 1684.

laws attributed to *William* the conqueror, and published by *Selden* in his notes upon *Eadmer* (a). But as that copy of the conqueror's laws is of little or no authority, we have a certain account of the *Piëts* still remaining inhabitants, at least of *Galloway*, and other parts of the west of *Scotland*, and yet known by their own name in the eleventh and twelfth ages; and this from a letter of *Radulf* (b), archbishop of *Canterbury*, to pope *Callixtus*, about the year 1122. In fine, *Richard Prior* of *Hexham* (c), in the twelfth age, informs us, as an eye-witness, of the *Piëts* making part of king *David I.*'s army, *A. D.* 1137, at the battle of the *Standard*; and calls them, nine different times, by their own proper name of *Piëts*: but it is remarkable, that this author, who lived in the time, and in the neighbourhood, informs us, that the *Piëts* were then commonly called *Galweyenses*.

FROM this expression we learn two very important things, concerning the *Piëts*, 1°. That it was about this time that the name of the *Piëts* began to be eclipsed; and soon after, we find *Huntington* telling us, they were heard of no more,

(a) *Eadmer*. p. 190.

(b) *Scriptor. Angl.* col. 1746. n. 30.

(c) *Ric. Hagulstaden. apud. X. Scriptor. Angl.* col. 1322. l. 24, 34. col. 316. n. 34. col. 317. l. 10. col. 318, n. 14, 24, 44. col. 319. n. 51. col. 291. n. 60. *Piëti qui vulgo Galweyenses dicuntur. Idem.* col. 316. n. 34.

than

than if they never had been. 2°. Tho' the name came to be difus'd, yet the people themselves, of the *Pictish* race, still subsisted under the name of *Galweyenses*, from the province where they dwelt; and so it probably happen'd in other provinces of *Scotland*, such as *Moravia*, *Murray*, whence the *Picts* of these parts have been call'd *Moravienfes*, as those in *Galloway* were call'd *Galweyenses*; and perhaps, from the *Picts* in *Murray* being so call'd, may have taken rise that tradition mention'd by some (a) writers of the *Murray* men, *Moravienfes*, their coming into *Albany* at first, under one (b) *Rodricus*, and giving origine to, as some (c) say, or rather joining the *Picts* in ancient times: and it seems, the race of *Picts* in *Murray*, after their name was grown out of use, continued still there under the name of the province: and the frequent rebellions and disturbances which the *Moravienfes* gave to our kings *Alexander I.* *David I.* and *Malcolm IV.* seem to confirm that they lived not easily under the government of our *Scotish* kings, and affected, as well as those of *Galloway*, a kind of independency, till at last king (d) *Malcolm IV.* was obliged to transplant the inhabitants of *Murray*, *Moravienfes*, and disperse them into different parts of the kingdom, and plant *Murray* with new inhabitants, about the year of our Lord 1159. By this

(a) Boeth l. 4. f. 54, 55, 56, n. 38.

(b) Uffer. p. 303.

(c) Math. Westm. ad an. 75. p. 55.

(d) Chron. Passat. MS. biblioth. regie Lond. l. 8. c. 6.

it appears, that the leading men of the *Picts*, who survived their last battles, and defeats given them by *Keneth*, retired partly to *Galloway*, partly to *Murray*, as to the two extremities of the kingdom, and were not so easily brought to submit to the *Scotish* government, as the commonalty throughout the country.

BUT it is to be remark'd in the first place, that *Galloway* (*Galweya*) was of much larger extent in ancient times, and even in the twelfth age, than it is of late; and that *Galloway* and *Louthian* included all those provinces of *Scotland* that lie to the south of the *Friiths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*. The laws of (a) *Regiam Majestatem* seem to be a plain proof of this. And by charters of king *David I.* (b) it appears, that *Galloway* in those times included, besides the country now call'd *Galloway*, those of *Carick*, *Kyle*, *Cuningham*; as also that of *Renfrew*, as may be collected from a bull of pope (c) *Alexander III.* and so perhaps a part of *Clydesdale*. It appears also, that in those ancient times, *Galloway* was look'd upon as distinct from (*Scotia*) *Scotland*, and consequently had its laws and customs distinct by itself, as is manifest by

(a) Omnes illi qui ultra Forth manserint in Laudonia, Galwidia vel aliis locis, respondebant calumniatoribus de Scotia. *Reg. Maj. l. i. c. 17. n. 8. Ibid. c. 20. n. 10.*

(b) Chart. vet. Glasg. f. 2. Ch. David.

(c) In Cartul. cod.

many of our ancient (a) laws and acts of parliament.

ON the other hand, 'tis certain that the *Picts*, as they were longer distinguish'd in *Galloway*, by their own name, (as we have seen). so they made, since their union with the *Scots*, a greater figure in *Galloway* than any where else in *Scotland*, that we know of: and first, it appears by (b) *Malmesbury*, that the *Picts*, (and he joins the *Scots* with them) invaded that country some time before their union, upon the decay of the *Bernician* kingdom; the (c) *Polychronicon* says they were the *Picts* only that seiz'd on *Galloway*, and took it from the *Saxons*. In the twelfth age, the monk (d) *Joceline*, who lived in the neighbourhood, in the life of *St. Mungo*, calls *Galloway* the country of the *Picts*; and the *Picts* being the inhabitants of *Galloway*, became so famous, that in the beginning of the twelfth age, (e) *Ralph*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, calls the bishop of *Galloway* (*Candidæ Casæ*) the bishop of the *Picts*.

(a) Reg. Majest. l. 1. c. 17. Stat. Alex. II. c. 2, 17. Quon. Attachiam. c. 72, 78. Stat. Rob. I. c. 14.

(b) Malmesbur f. 155. n. 5.

(c) Sedes Candidæ Casæ ... depopulatione Pictorum a ditione Anglorum omnino (defecit) *Polychr. p. 207.*

(d) Pictorum Patria — quæ modo Galwedica dicitur. *Joc. in vit. S. Kentegerni ap. Bolland. n. 34.*

(e) Epist. Radulf. Cant. ad Callist. Pap. X. script. col. 1746.

By all this it appears, 1°. That on *Keneth's* taking possession of the *Pictish* kingdom, those of the *Picts* that stood out against his title, retired in a body chiefly to *Galloway*, and there fortified themselves, till being forced to submit to the *Scots*, they retained still some of their liberties, and had not only peculiar laws and customs, but proper princes of their own, tho' depending on the crown of *Scotland*: as it appears that *Galloway* had *Fergus*, *Uchtred*, *Rolland*, and *Alan*, among whose daughters it was divided; and it is remarkable, that our kings, in ancient times, in the address of their (a) charters, mentioned the *Galweyenses* by their own name, (when they were concern'd) distinct from the *Scots*, and their other subjects.

FROM what hath been said before, it appears in the second place, that a great many of the inhabitants of *Galloway* were originally *Picts*, not only of the commonalty, as in other provinces anciently possess'd by the *Picts*, but even of the best and greatest families: since, as we have seen, there's no doubt to be made, but many of the leading men among the *Picts*, who survived *Keneth's* victories, retired to *Galloway*. And if I were not afraid of being thought too great an adversary to popular traditions, on which alone I find our modern writers ground their opinion of the

F (a) Chartul. vet. Glasg. Chart. Dav. I, fol. 2. Malc. IV. f. 5, 52. Willelm. f. 4, 52.

descent of the male-race of the royal line of the *Stuarts* from the *Scots-Irish* line, I should be apt to think that there's a much greater probability of their being descended of the *Picts*, or ancient *Britains*, whose progeny, as well as that of the *Scots*, and some remains of the *Saxons*, were the inhabitants of *Galloway* in its old extent, including all these western countries on the south-side of *Clyde*. Since that ancient family of the *Stuarts*, from the first time we have any account of it on assured records, was seated in these parts, as is clear, as well by the chartulary of *Paßlay*, as by a bull of pope *Alexander III.* (a) *A. D.* 1179, address'd to the proprietors of *Galloway*, (*Galwellen*) among whom *Alan*, son to *Walter*, is reckon'd one of the chief. And a proof that the *Stuarts* are not descended from the *Scots-Irish*, is, that never any of the families bore, in ancient times, any *Scots-Irish* name, as all our kings of the *Scots-Irish* line did, till *Malcolm Keanmore's* children; and some others afterwards, as *Donald*, *Malcolm*, *Duncan*, &c. but the common names of all the first we know of the race of the *Stuarts*, were *Alan* and *Walter*, names neither in those times, nor at any time before, ever in use among the *Scots* that came from *Ireland*.

BUT let that be as it will, it is certain, that both the *Picts*, and (as we have made appear elsewhere) the ancient *Britains* were the inhabitants of these parts; and we have a proof of it, from

(a) Chartul. Glasg.

the address of some (a) charters of several of our kings to their subjects of the diocese of *Glasgo*, (as has been remark'd) where, besides the *Scots*, the *English*, who were the remains of the *Saxons*, and the *Franci*, who were some *Norman* families lately come in; the *Galwejeses*, who were the *Picts*, as we have seen; and the *Walenses*, *Welch*, or *Britains*, are distinctly named. This mixture of so many several different nations, who possess'd that country, occasioned, about the eleventh age, and beginning of the twelfth, that barbarity, or almost extinction of christianity among the inhabitants, which is described by the author of the preface of the old (b) chartulary of *Glasgo*, written about 500 years ago, where he mentions the ancient inhabitants of the diocese of *Glasgo*, which he calls *Cumbrensis regio*. *Jocelin* calls it *Cam-brensis*; and the author of *St. Ælred's* (c) life, speaking of *Galloway*, gives much the same character of the inhabitants. And tho' there's no doubt, but the expressions of these writers are somewhat hyperbolical, yet the mixture of so many different nations could not but have dismal effects upon their moral conduct. To remedy these evils, our ancient religious kings found no means more proper than the restoring the episcopal sees

(a) *Vet. Chartul. Glasg.* f. 52, & 4.

(b) ... dispari gente & dissimili lingua & vario more viventes ... gentilitatem potius quam fidei cultum tenuerunt: *Vet. Chart. Gl.* f. 1, 2.

(c) *Vit. S. Ælredi MS. bibl. Coron. Tiberius E.* 1.

of *Glasgo* and *Galloway*, which, it appears, had been long without bishops; and the erecting, in several places of these countries, (as their great men, among others, *Walter* son of *Alan*, predecessor of our kings, did by their example) abbeys or monasteries of the most strict and esteemed religious men in those times: by which means, and by the good laws and polity, which our kings instituted, those countries became, by degrees, the most religious and most polish'd in the kingdom.

BUT to conclude this account of the *Picts*, I hope, by all we have shewn in the foregoing articles, among other things, it hath appear'd to the impartial reader, that the *Picts* are the progeny of the *Caledonians*; and by consequence of the first, the most ancient and most valiant inhabitants of *Britain*; that their dominions far exceeded those of the *Scots*, as did also the number and strength of their nation; that their government was hereditary and monarchical; and in fine, that not only the total extinction of the *Picts* by king *Keneth*, is false and fabulous; but that the royal family, and present inhabitants of *Scotland*, are in general as well the descendants and progeny of the ancient *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, as they are of those *Scots* that came in from *Ireland*; and have as good a title to the actions, religious or military, perform'd in ancient times by the one, as by the other. And this alone suffices to demonstrate the antiquity, as well
of.

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of the royal line, as of the generality of the inhabitants of *Albany*, or *Scotland*; so we are under no kind of necessity to have recourse to the *Scots* who came from *Ireland*, for maintaining either the antiquity of the royal line of our kings, beyond any monarchy now in being, or the ancient settlement of the inhabitants in *Britain*.

B O O K

B O O K II.Of the Scots.

Introduction and Division of this Second Book.

AFTER having put the ancient state of the *Roman, British, and Pictish* inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain* in the best light I could in the foregoing book; it remains now in course to treat of the *Scots*; a subject so much more important than the former, in that it is properly the end and scope of this whole undertaking. The *Britains* and *Picts*, as all other ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of this island, having by degrees been incorporated and cemented by conquest, alliances, and length of time, as we have shewn, into one people with the *Scots*, all the inhabitants, of whatever origine, have been known these many ages by no other name, and all the northern parts of *Britain*, united in one kingdom, have been also known only by the name of *Scotland*.

BUT it must be acknowledged that no part of the history of *Britain* is more intricate, involved in greater difficulties, and more liable to debates than

than what concerns the *Scots*. All is here contested; the origine of the *Scots*, the time of their coming first to *Ireland*, their first settlement in *Britain*, the antiquity of their monarchy there, its ancient extent, the number, and even the names of their ancient kings, as they are set down by their modern historians, much more their lives and actions: nay, the very name of *Scots* makes alone the subject of a considerable debate.

IT is chiefly within these two last ages that all these questions have been more warmly agitated: and some of the best pens of the three nations, *Scots*, *English*, and *Irish*, have been designedly employed about settling them, besides what other foreign writers have said upon the subject. So that it would seem, that whoever would by choice undertake this subject again, can scarce avoid the character either of being troublesome to the publick, if he barely repeats what others have said, or that of rash and presumptuous, if he should pretend, after so many great authors, to put matters in a better light.

WHAT I have to say for this undertaking is, that it is a consequence, and indeed the very end of my having already treated of the *Roman*, *British*, and *Pictish* ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of the island, and that the whole was none of my own choice; those kind of debates having always appeared to me a very invidious task: but being prevailed on to set down my thoughts

thoughts on the subject, I resolved to write impartially what I conceived most conformable to truth, without regard to the many prejudices of the generality, either of my own, or of any other country concerned.

TO give the reader therefore a general prospect of the method which I design to follow in this second book concerning the *Scots*; the most material question to be examined, is to determine the time of their first settlement, and the beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*. All the rest of the history of the *Scots* depends on that, and must take a quite different turn, according as that question is resolved. Now it being generally agreed, that the *Scots* of *Britain* are the offspring of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, nothing can be determined with certainty concerning the time of the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or the beginning of the monarchy, till that of the *Scots* in *Ireland* be first examined: for if the *Scots* were settled in *Ireland* 1200, or 1300 years before the incarnation, as the modern *Irish* writers pretend, the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* might be with equal probability (as we shall shew) placed before the times of the incarnation, as the modern *Scotish* writers assert it. But if, on the other hand, the settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* ought to be placed no earlier than in or about the times of the incarnation; the *Epoch* of their settlement in *Britain* must necessarily be in proportion abated. From

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whence

whence it follows, that we must make a different judgment of the remote, or high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, according as those of the *Irish* are supposed to be certain, dubious or fabulous.

THIS being supposed, I shall, in consequence hereof, divide this book concerning the *Scots* into two parts or sections. In the first, before I enter into the examination of the high or remote antiquities of *Ireland*, I shall suppose them such as the modern *Irish* writers describe, to wit, that the *Scots* of the *Milesian* race were settled in *Ireland* above one thousand years before the incarnation; that *Herimon*, their first king, came from *Spain*, and reigned in *Ireland* in the eleventh, twelfth, some say thirteenth century, before the birth of Christ; that from this *Herimon* there continued in *Ireland* an uninterrupted succession of kings of the *Scotish-Milesian* race, with learning, laws, and other marks of a polite nation, during about 15 or 1600 years, down till *St. Patrick's* time, who preached the gospel in *Ireland* in the fifth age: and this is what I mean, throughout all this book, by the terms of *high or remote antiquities of the Irish*, which I am obliged frequently to make use of for brevity, and to avoid repetitions of the same thing. Upon supposition of the probability or certainty of these high antiquities of *Ireland*, I shall, in this first section or part of this book, consider the *high antiquities of the Scots* (by which I understand all along the opinion of those who maintain,

maintain, that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain*, and had a succession of kings, from before the times of the incarnation, down till *Fergus* son of *Ereb*) and after I have examined in general the probability of the ancient settlement and monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain*, upon this supposition, I shall enter into a full discussion of the famous debate concerning the truth of the story of the forty *Scotish* kings, before *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, as it is set down by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers.

IN the second section of this book I shall begin by examining the grounds of the high antiquities of *Ireland*, and the time of the settlement of the *Scots* in that island, that being a necessary preliminary to the discussion of the high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, with which I shall conclude, after having premised a short account in general of the writers of the *Scotish* history, and particularly of some historical pieces (relative to the subject of which I am treating) and which either have not hitherto been published, or have not been taken notice of by our modern writers.

SECTION I.

Of the Antiquity of the Settlement and Monarchy of the Scots in Britain, upon Supposition of the Certainty or Probability of the High Antiquities of Ireland. Together with a full discussion of the story of the forty ancient Kings before Bergus Son of Erch.

BEFORE I enter into the examination of the high antiquities of the *Irish* or *Scots* which is to make the second section of this second book, in this first section, that I may with more freedom, and less offence to my own countrymen, be allowed to enquire into the certainty of the high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and to set down what I think most conformable to truth. I shall endeavour in the first chapter to shew that the present inhabitants of *Scotland* ought to be very indifferent about these high antiquities; and that the *Irish*, in order to support their own high antiquities, are more interested to maintain those of the *Scots*, than are the present *Scots* themselves.

IN the second chapter, that I may not seem to have neglected the common opinion of the writers of our history for these three or four last ages, and to do all the justice I can to the abettors of

of the *Scotish* high antiquities; I shall endeavour to make it appear, that the *Scots* had as probable grounds to go upon for maintaining their early settlement in *Britain*, as the *Irish* can give in proportion for the early settlement, or high antiquities of the *Scots* in *Ireland*: so that those *Irish* writers, who maintain the settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland* twelve or thirteen ages before the incarnation, have nothing with which they can justly reproach the *Scotish* writers, for placing the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it.

IN the third chapter (which will take up the greatest part of this first section) on the same supposition of the *Scotish* high antiquities, or of their early settlement and ancient monarchy in *Britain*, I shall enquire at full length (as the importance of the subject requires) into the various accounts given by our historians of the forty, or forty-five *Scotish* kings preceding *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, or king *Fergus* the second.

C H A P. I.

Of the Debates of the Scottish and Irish Writers, about the Antiquity of the Settlement of the Scots in Britain: that the present Inhabitants of Scotland ought to be very indifferent about the Issue of these Debates; and that the Irish are more interested to maintain the ancient Settlement of the Scots in Britain than the Scots themselves.

THERE has been now, for about two centuries, the warmest debates betwixt the Scottish and *Irish* writers, concerning the antiquity and settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*. Both agree that the *Scots* came thither immediately from *Ireland*, at least as to the generality of them: but the modern *Scottish* writers assert, and that with such concern, as if the honour of the nation did in a great measure depend upon it; that their coming from *Ireland*, and the beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*, were before the incarnation: the modern *Irish* writers, with no less warmth, deny this ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and affirm, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland* no sooner than the fourth or fifth century of christianity; and that the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* began only in the beginning of the sixth century.

AFTER

AFTER so long and so fierce a paper war carried on with so much eagerness on both sides, it would, no doubt, appear at first a very strange paradox, to pretend that it is a matter entirely indifferent to the true honour of the present *Scots*, whether the *Scots* that came from *Ireland* were settled in *Britain* before the incarnation, or only after it; and that the *Irish*, and they alone, have a real interest for the support of their remote antiquities; that the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* could be proved to have been before the incarnation.

AND yet as odd as this paradox seems at first, I hope it will appear much less surprizing, if matters be impartially considered. And first, as to the present *Scots*: the chief reason of their maintaining, with so much concern, the antiquity of their settlement and monarchy in *Britain* in the *Scotish* line is, that their modern historians ground their chief title to the most ancient monarchy of *Europe*, as well as their claim to all the warlike actions performed by the ancient inhabitants of the *North* of *Britain* against the *Romans* and provincial *Britains*, wholly upon their descent from these *Scots* that came from *Ireland*. Now if it can be made appear, 1^o. That the present inhabitants of *Scotland*, both as to the commonalty, the nobility, and as to the royal family, either are not universally descended from those *Scots* that came from *Ireland*,

Ireland, or owe not chiefly to them what makes for their greatest lustre and honour in ancient times.

2°. That the present *Scots* derive a title to these warlike achievements, performed against the *Romans* and *Britains*, independently of their descent from these *Scots* that came from *Ireland*: It will follow, that the present *Scots* ought certainly to be very indifferent about the time when the *Scottish* colony came from *Ireland* to *Britain*, whether before or after the incarnation.

1°. As to the commonalty: that the bulk of the nation is not the offspring of the *Scots* who came from *Ireland*, appears from this; that, as it hath been already shewn, many of the inhabitants, both of the north and south, are descended of the *Picts*; many of the inhabitants of *Clydesdale*, and of other parts of the west, are come of the ancient *Britains*; many of those of the south are descendents of the *Saxons*, of whom, besides those that were settled here of old, many others retired hither for refuge, and were received by our king *Malcolm III.* upon the invasion of the *Normans*. Many of the *Normans* themselves were received afterwards in *Scotland*, and got lands and possessions by the name of *Franks* from our kings, the immediate successors of *Malcolm III.* as appears by the cartularies of our abbeys. Many of the inhabitants of *Catness*, *Ross*, and some of the isles, are descended from the *Danes*. The inhabitants of

Murray

Murray are supposed by (a) *Boece* himself to be of a different extraction, both from the *Picts* and *Scots*.

2°. As to the nobility and gentry, it is no less certain, that many of the best and most ancient families are not descended from the *Scots* who came from *Ireland*; for, besides the remains of the *Britains* and *Picts*, a great many of the best families had their origine from foreign countries, as appears by their traditions and writs; by the account, as far as it may be depended upon, that (b) *Boece* himself and his followers give of those who came in from *England*, *France*, and *Hungary*, about king *Malcolm* the III^d's time; by the more certain testimony of the *English* (c) historians of the great numbers of the *Saxon* nobility that fled to *Scotland* from the oppression of *William* the conqueror and his successors; and by the surnames of many *Normans*, to whom our kings, successors to *Malcolm* the III^d, gave lands in *Scotland*, as 'tis clear by many ancient charters, and chiefly by the donors and witnesses in the chartularies of our monasteries.

3°. As for the royal family of *Scotland*, by what hath been already said of its (d) descent from

(a) Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 56. edit. 1.

(b) Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 258. edit. 2.

(c) Tota nobilitas Angliæ transiit ad reges Scotiæ. Math. Paris. pag. 4.

(d) Supra, p. 141.

the *Picts*, I hope that it has been made appear that our kings as they lineally descend of the *Pictish* kings, according to the *Scotish* historians, so they possess, in the right of these ancient kings, the far greatest part of the kingdom, and that they are no otherwise descended of the *Scotish* line which came from *Ireland*, than they are of the *Bruces* and *Stuarts*. So that as the placing the first king of the race of *Bruce*, and of *Stuart*, in the fourteenth century only, doth not derogate from the antiquity of the royal line or monarchy of *Scotland*, because the succession is carried up in the *Scotish* race in the same royal blood from which the *Bruces* and *Stuarts*, by marriages, had their right: so the placing the first king of the *Scotish* race in the fifth or sixth century doth not prejudice the antiquity of the royal line or monarchy, since it is carried up time out of mind long before, in the race of the *Pictish* kings, from whom, by marriage, as well as by conquest, the *Scotish* kings had the right to the much greater part of *Albany* or *Scotland*.

So I hope it will appear, to any that will examine the history of the royal family of *Scotland* without prejudice, that the length or antiquity of the race in the *Scotish* line which came from *Ireland*, is of as little consequence to it, as is the antiquity of it in the line of *Bruce* that came from *Normandy*, or in that of the *Stuarts*, which I conceive may be more probably derived from a *Pictish*, *British*, or *Norman* original, than from a *Scotish*-

Scotish-Irish: so that the chief interest that our royal family hath, as to its antiquity, is in its descent from the ancient race of the *Pictish* kings, from whom, as to the far greatest part of *Albany*, the right came by an heiress to the *Scots*, as the right to the whole equally came by other heiresses from the *Scots* to the *Bruces* and *Stuarts*.

THIS being supposed, and also granting that the settlement of the *Scots* and their monarchy in *Britain* in the *Scotish-Irish* line (which shall be examined) were of no older date than the fifth or sixth age; the royal family of our kings in the *Pictish* line, and the antiquity of their monarchy in *Albany*, will thereby be at no loss, but will subsist with more honour to the nation, and by more certain proofs from history, even with the allowance of the *Irish* themselves, from what they esteem their most authorized ancient writers, than it can do in the *Scotish-Irish* line, as we have shewn.

AND as to that kind of honour and reputation which depends upon valour and warlike actions, those of the *Caledonians*, whom we have shewn to be the same people called afterwards *Picts*, are grounded upon the sure foundation of the best of the *Roman* histories, which cannot be equally said of the *Scots*, and near three centuries before the name of the *Scots* was heard of in any ancient author. (a) I have already treated of the

(a) *Supra*, pag. 44, 45.

exploits of the *Caledonians* in the *Roman* times, and shall have occasion to set them down more at large in the second part of this essay.

BUT, to fix the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* two or three hundred years after the incarnation, would not only not derogate from the honour of the present inhabitants of *Scotland*, or of their monarchy, as I have shewn, but it would seem rather a derogation from both, were it fixed before that time. For if we suppose, with the modern *Scotish* writers, that the *Scots* came from *Ireland* to *Britain*, and that their monarchy began in the west of *Scotland* above three hundred years before the incarnation; then it will follow, that for the space of about seven hundred years these *Scots* remained confined to a little corner of what since composes the kingdom of *Scotland*, in an indolent, obscure, dispirited, and unknown condition, without either extending their narrow territories, or making any considerable effort to do it: since during all those ages, and till about the middle of the fourth age, after the incarnation, their name is not so much as once found in history, whilst that of the *Caledonians* or *Picts* was so renowned in the best histories of the times. And that after so long a settlement in *Britain* we find the *Scots*, even in the sixth age, still confined to the western coasts and islands, their first habitation; without being able to extend their bounds on any side during 900 years, or if they did, they had been forced

ced back to them again. Since it hath been already shewn from good authority, that in the sixth age, and beyond it, the (a) *Picts* were still peaceable possessors of all the north of *Scotland*, from the *Orknays* southwards to the *Forth*, and beyond it, on one side of them; and that on the other some of the *Picts*, with the *Britains* and *Saxons*, were in possession of the countries to the south of the *Cluyd*.

WHEREAS if we should suppose that the *Scots* came to *Britain* only about the third century of christianity, and that their monarchy began only in the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth age; that at the first appearance they make in *Britain* we find them join'd with the *Picts*, assaulting the *Roman* empire; that from that first appearance the *Roman* and *British* histories never mention them, but as a warlike and stirring people, jealous of their own liberty, and still active to extend their conquests on their neighbours. All these, and such like considerations, supported by good authority, seem to give a much more noble impression of the *Scots*, as a martial people, from their first entry into *Britain*, than to suppose that they were settled seven hundred years before, and lay all that time in an entire obscurity, confined to a corner of the island.

So upon the whole we may now conclude, that it is a matter at least very indifferent to the pre-

(a) V. *Picts*, art. 5. §. 1 & 2. *supra*.

sent inhabitants of *Scotland*, whether the coming in of the *Scots* from *Ireland* to *Britain* was before the incarnation, or in the third century after it.

ON the other hand, as to the *Irish*, it is just the contrary; 'tis their interest alone to maintain the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* before the time of the incarnation, and to raise it therefore above all others, in order to support their own high antiquities, and the ancient series of their kings; for the basis and foundation of all their high antiquities, being the settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland* many ages before the incarnation, whatever serves to prove this ancient settlement is of importance to them. Now nothing could prove this ancient settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland* so directly, as the shewing that they had been able, three or four ages before christianity, to send forth such a considerable colony, as that of the *Scots* in *Britain* is represented to have been in those early times by the *Scotish* modern writers: whereas the *Irish*, by taking this support away from their antiquities, and by bringing down the coming of the *Scots* to *Britain* to the fourth or fifth century of christianity, leave the whole fabrick of the antiquity of the settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland* in a tottering condition, having nothing for the support thereof but uncertain traditions, and the fabulous rhymes of their bards or seanachies, which we shall have occasion to examine afterwards.

So

So I leave it to any body to judge, whether the *Irish* are not more interested to maintain that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* before the incarnation, than the present *Scots* are themselves: and at the same time whether it be likely that the *Irish*, who without doubt have had, since they received christianity in the fifth age, the use of letters, learning and writers among them, could either have omitted to take notice of, and record so considerable a transaction as that of the *Scots* coming from *Ireland*, and setting up a new kingdom in *Britain* in the fifth or sixth age, or could continue to this day, both against their interest and knowledge, to maintain so positively and unanimously, that the monarchy of the *Scots* in *Britain* is no older than the fifth or sixth age, if they had not good proofs for it.

BUT at least it follows, from what we have shewn concerning the *Scots* in the foregoing observations, that one may, without the least disparagement of the present inhabitants of *Scotland*, very freely and impartially discuss the truth of what their modern writers have advanced concerning their high antiquities, and follow what shall appear (all things considered) most conformable to true history and ancient authority, concerning the time of the settlement of the *Scots*, and beginning of their monarchy in *Britain*.

C H A P. II.

That if the Settlement of the Milesian Scots in Ireland, twelve or thirteen ages before the Incarnation, be once admitted, that of the Scots in Britain, before the Romans entered it, will follow in course, as being supported by Proofs of the same Nature.

AFTER having shewed in the foregoing chapter, that the *Irish*, in order to support their own high antiquities, seem to have greater interest than the present *Scots*, to maintain the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, to omit nothing that may give light into the *Scotish* antiquities; and that I may not seem to have slighted or neglected the common opinion of the writers of the *Scotish* history, during these three or four last centuries; and to do all the justice I can to the assertors of the *Scotish* high antiquities; supposing here, as I do all along in this section, the truth or probability of the ancient settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland*, as the *Irish* writers will have it; I shall endeavour to shew, that upon that supposition, there is at least as great probability of the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, before the *Romans* entered it: so that those *Irish* writers, that maintain the opinion of the *Milesian Scots* settling in *Ireland* about 1200 years before

before the incarnation, have no just ground to reproach the *Scots* with adhering to their opinions, in favour of their ancient settlement in *Britain*, before the *Romans* first entry into it; since they may be as probably sustained as those of the *Irish*.

I do not here pretend, that there can be settled any fix'd dates, or epochs, of the first settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or indeed of any northern nation, before they had the use of letters, either from christianity or from the *Romans* entring among them: the ignorance in which, I suppose, all the northern nations were, in those early times, of all means or methods, to calculate and regulate dates of past transactions, render, in my opinion, all their pretensions to any fix'd chronology absolutely groundless; and their want of the use of letters, made it no less impossible for them to preserve any accounts of particular circumstantial facts. All that a rude and illiterate people, with the help of their ignorant venal bards, could retain, was some uncertain series of genealogies, with some general traditions of more remarkable adventures of the nation, mixed with fables: all which their posterity, after the use of letters was introduced among them, might have reduced into some rude form of historical narration, applying dates to it by conjecture.

NEITHER do I propose to treat in this chapter of the first government of the *Scots* in *Britain*,

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of the real antiquity of their monarchy, and of the certainty of their kings before *Fergus* son of *Erc*; that being a subject important enough to deserve to be discussed a part, I shall therefore reserve it for the following chapter. At present I propose to treat only in general of the ancient settlement of the *Scots*, and that only on the supposition of the truth of the *Irish* high antiquities; and to shew that there appears as great probability, from authority, of the *Scots* being settled in *Britain*, before the *Romans* first entered it, or at least in the first ages of christianity, as of their being settled in *Ireland* ten or twelve centuries, or indeed at any time before the incarnation.

THE authorities that the modern *Irish* writers commonly alledge, for the *Milesian Scots* being settled in *Ireland* so many ages before the birth of Christ, may be reduced to two classes. 1°. Those drawn from such pretended MSS. ancient annals, or writers in the *Irish* tongue, as hitherto they have never thought fit to publish, either in their own language, or in a compleat and faithful translation. 2°. Those taken from such writers, or pieces of antiquity, whether domestick or foreign, as are published whole and entire, so as the publick may be able to form a judgment of their authority, truth, and weight, and of the passages quoted from them, with relation to the character and age of the author, or credit of his work.

1°. As to the much-boasted ancient annals, or writers of the history of *Ireland*, not as yet printed, we shall have occasion to examine their credit, when we come to treat of the time of the settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland*. All I shall say here is, that no proof of any weight can be brought from those pretended ancient writers, as long as they lie in the dark; because no judgment can be made of their authority or credit, by some short passages said to be taken from them; nor indeed any account at all made of them, till they be first published whole and entire, with faithful translations, and with an account where the originals are to be met with. This is a work that certainly deserves the attention and labour of some of their learned and best skilled in the *Irish* language. This would be incomparably more for the honour of the *Irish* nation, if these ancient pieces answered the characters they have given of them, than all that they have written of them in modern pieces, grounded only upon quotations most part at second hand copying from one another.

2°. As to the authorities drawn from such writers, or pieces of antiquity, whether domestic or foreign, that are already published, relating to the antiquities of the *Scots*, either in *Ireland* or in *Britain*, it will be found, upon examination, that they will make at least as much for the high antiquities of the *Scots*, as for those of

the *Irish*. To begin with domestick writers, *John Fordun's* is the first general history extant in print, that gives an account of the *Scotish* high antiquities; and though he wrote only in the fourteenth century, yet there is no general history of the *Irish* extant, that we can hear of, printed or MS. that comes so near the times, in which the beginning of the *Milesian Scotish* monarchy in *Ireland* is placed by them, as *Fordun* does to the age in which he places the first *Scotish* king in *Britain*.

PSALT AIR Casbel is, by all I can learn, the most ancient general history of *Ireland* extant: the author (a) *Cormac Culinan* king of *Munster*, and bishop of *Casbel*, was killed in battle, in the beginning of the tenth age; that is, about 2200 years after the time that the beginning of the monarchy of the *Milesian Scotish* race in *Ireland* is placed: whereas, though *John Fordun* lived but in the fourteenth century, yet even that was within 1600 years of the time he places the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain*. So he wrote at least 600 years nearer the beginning of the transactions he accounts for, than the most ancient now extant, even of the unprinted *Irish* historians. And if *Psaltair Casbel* quotes some poets or bards more ancient, so also *John Fordun* quotes *Chronica*, & *alia Chronica*, and several legends: all which are like to prove as credible vouchers, as the book

(a) *Waræus de Scriptor. Hybern. p. 47, 48.*

with the white cover, or that of *immigrations* or *conquests*, which they say are cited by *Psaltair Casbel*.

IT is true, *Fordun* was only a priest, and not a king or bishop as *Cormac*. But what helps *Cormac* might have procured to his work by authority, *Fordun* supplied by his application, labours and diligence, having travelled over *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland* to collect materials for his history. And as for judgment or discernment betwixt true and false, I suppose there is nothing in the most fabulous part of *Fordun* that matches the stories of *Cain's* three daughters and *Noah's* niece coming to *Ireland*, and many such other rare stories as are said to be contained in *Psaltair Casbel*: but we shall be more able to make out the comparison, when this royal history is as fairly published as *Fordun's* is in two editions. In the mean time, what may be wanting to *Fordun's* authority, may be made up by that of the estates of *Scotland*, who may well enough balance that of a king of *Munster*. We have, in many copies of *Fordun's* continuators, the *Scotish* memorials (a) and letters, in the beginning of the fourteenth age, authorised by the whole kingdom to the popes *Boniface VIII.* and *John XXII.* in which they assert the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* several ages before the birth of Christ.

(a) *Fordun*, edit. Hearn. p. 835, 883.

IN the thirteenth age the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, some ages before the incarnation, is also attested by a short *Scotish* chronicle (a) in *Latin* verse, commonly bound in with some MSS. of the *Scoticchronicons*, of which we shall treat afterwards. And thus we see the antiquity of the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* witnessed by our own country writers, whereof I have met with none as yet, that touch upon this point, more ancient than this thirteenth age. But we shall find foreign writers give testimony to it much farther back.

SUCH, in the eleventh age, is *Ethelwerdus* (b), the *Saxon* writer, who tells us, that in the first age of christianity the emperor *Claudius*, who never went farther than *Britain*, met with resistance and opposition from the *Scots* and *Picts*, in his design to conquer that island: and again, that the *Scots* and *Picts* made inroads on the provincial *Britains* in the emperor *Severus's* time. Not to insist on the (c) *Saxon* chronicle, (written at latest in the eleventh or twelfth age) which supposes the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Julius Caesar's* time, when he says, that *Cæsar* returning from *Britain*

(a) In the appendix, num. 6.

(b) Resistunt jugo Scoti Pictique. *Ethelwerd. bist. Angl.* f. 473. *Ibid.* f. 474.

(c) He poþlet his hepe abyðan mid Scottum. *Cbron. Sax.* p. 2.

to France, left his legions among the Scots. This, to be sure, is a mistake, being a false translation of Bede's words, *Legiones in hyberna dimisit*, by the author of the Saxon chronicle; but it shews, that this Saxon writer believed the Scots were in Britain in Julius Caesar's time.

IN the beginning of the eleventh age, or at the end of the tenth, the life of St. Cadroe was written, and was published by F. Colgan in his collection of Irish saints, in folio; and again, by F. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ord. S. Bened. to. 1.* but he retrenches the preface as superfluous. In this preface, which Colgan's edition contains, there is some account of the Irish antiquities, to which both Colgan himself and Flaherty refer for a proof of them. The author of that life gives this account of the origine of the Scots. He says they were called *Chorisci*, from *Coria*; but *Scoti*, and their country *Scotia*, from *Scota* an Egyptian, wife to *Nelus* or *Niulus*, their leader, who was son to *Aeneas*, a Lacedemonian. After many pilgrimages, he gives them an ancient settlement in Ireland, without determining the time of their coming thither; and adds, that from thence (a), after some years, they came over the British sea to the island *Jona*, and afterwards possessed the country of *Ross*, and the towns of *Rigmoneth* and *Bellochor*;

(a) Fluxerunt quot anni & mare sibi proximum transfretantes Eviam ins. quæ nunc Jona dr. &c. Colg. vit. S. S. to. 1. p. 494.

and.

and that many years after that, they received the christian faith by *St. Patrick*. Whence it follows, that the preaching of *St. Patrick* in *Ireland* was long after the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, in which *Jona* and *Rossia* are situated, as are also the towns of *Rigmoneth* and *Bellochor*: whereof the first can be no other than the ancient *Rigmonth*, or *Rigmond*, called since *St. Andrew's* the metropolitan church of *Scotland*; and *Bellochor* is mentioned by an ancient (a) writer as a royal seat of the *Scotish* kings, where he says that king *Donald*, brother to *Keneth the Great*, died, in palatio suo *Bellochor*. But without entring here into the discussion of the truth of this narrative, it is clear, that at the same time that the author attests the *Scots* ancient settlement in *Ireland*, he gives a full testimony of their early settlement in *Britain*, very long before *St. Patrick's* time.

IN the ninth century, *Nennius*, a *Britain*, wrote his *Eulogium Britanniae*, which in most of the MS. copies is attributed to *Gildas*, and contains a very confused and uncertain account of the *British* and *Irish* antiquities. However, it is the most ancient monument we have in print of both their origines, and was published by *Dr. Gale*, A. D. 1691. This author, after giving some account (b) of the origine of the *Britains*, of their settlement in the

(a) Append. num. 3.

(b) *Nennius*, c. 2, 3, 4.

island, next brings (a) in the *Picts*, who, he says, were still subsisting in *Britain*, A. D. 832, when he wrote; and last of all, *novissime* (b) *omnium*, he says, the *Scots* came to *Ireland* from *Spain*; and so gives a brief account of the planting of *Ireland*, very different from what the modern *Irish* tell us. However, if his authority be good, as to the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, it ought not to be questioned in what he relates of the time of the *Scots* first coming to *Dalrieta*, which, according to the (c) *Irish* and other writers, was the ancient name of the kingdom, or habitation of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

NENNIUS (d) tells us then, that the *Scots* came to *Ireland* 1002 years after the *Egyptians* were drowned in the red sea; that the *Scots* came to the country of *Dalrieta* (*ad regiones Dalrietae*) in the time that *Brutus* reigned (or rather was consul) among the *Romans*, from whom the consuls began, &c. Thus he makes a distinction betwixt the *Scots* coming to *Ireland*, and their settling in *Dalrieta*; and assigns different dates to each of these settlements; which plainly shews, that *Dalrieta* was a different country from *Ireland*, and so no other than the *Regnum Dalrietae* in *Britain*: and accordingly *Nennius* had placed *Dalrieta* ex-

(a) *Nenn.* cap. 5.

(b) *Nennius*, cap. 6, 7, 8, 9.

(c) *Usser. Antiq. But.* p. 320.

(d) *Nenn.* cap. 9.

pressly in *Britain* a little before, where he says, that *Istoreth* Son to *Istorinus* took possession of *Dalrieta* in *Britain*, (in (a) *Britannia Istoreth filius Istorini tenuit Dalrietam cum suis*). The same *Nennius*, in the tenth chapter, makes a distinction betwixt the *Scyths*, or *Scots*, that came to *Ireland*, and the *Scyths*, or *Scots*, that dwelt in the *North* in his time, in the ninth age, and who, jointly with the *Picts*, had made war on the *Britains*, long before the *Roman* monarchy. *Scythæ autem* (b) i. e. *Scoti in quarta mundi ætate* (that is, from king *David* to the *Babylonish* captivity) *obtinuerunt Hyberniam: Scythæ autem qui sunt in occidente & Picti de Aquilone pugnabant unanimiter & uno impetu contra Britones. Et post multum intervallum temporis Romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt.* Again, for a further proof that these *Scots*, that unanimously with the *Picts* made war on the *Britains*, were not a people of *Ireland*, but inhabitants of *Britain*, *Nennius* (c) tells us, that *Severus* the Emperor made his famous wall from sea to sea, betwixt the *Britains* on one side, and the *Picts*, and *Scots*, on the other; adding still the same reason, because the *Scots* from the *West*, and *Picts* from the *North*, used unanimously to insult the *Britains*. And thus we see, that the most ancient writer we hear of, for the *Irish* high antiquities, gives equal testimony to the ancient settle-

(a) Nenn. cap. 8.

(b) Nennius, cap. 10.

(c) *ibid.* cap. 19.

ment of the *Scots* in *Britain*; for *Nennius* lived in the age before king *Cormac*, author of *Psaltair Casbel*.

IN the eighth age, *Bede* (a) may be brought as a witness of the *Scots* ancient settlement in *Ireland*. *Bede* supposeth, indeed, that the *Scots* were settled in *Ireland* before the incarnation; since he says, that the *Picts* found them there, who, according to his account, came to *Britain* before the *Romans* first entered it: but then, besides that, *Bede* hath not a word of the *Scots* being settled in *Ireland* ten or twelve centuries before the incarnation, or of their descent from *Milesius*, or of their ancient monarchy, or indeed any thing that can attest their high antiquity: besides all this, if *Bede's* authority may be depended upon, as to the remote antiquities of *Ireland*, and of the north of *Britain*; the coming of the *Scots* to *Britain*, before the *Romans* entered it, may be made no less clear, by *Bede's* own words (b); where, giving account of the order in which the five Nations that had inhabited *Britain* came first into it, and whose languages still subsisted there, as yet in *Bede's* time (to wit, the *English* or *Saxons*, the *British*, *Scotish*, *Pictish* and *Latin*, or *Romans*) he places the *Britains* first, *imprimis Britones solum*; the *Picts* in the second rank; and after these two, he places the *Scots* the third nation that came in;

(a) Bed. lib. 1. c. 1.

(b) Bed. lib. 1. c. 1.

Procedente autem tempore Britannia post Britones & Pictos Tertiam Scotorum Nationem recepit; and then, after giving a short account of *Ireland*, whence the *Scots* came, and of their first habitation in *Britain*, he ranks the coming in of the *Romans* to *Britain*, under *Julius Cæsar* (a) in the fourth place, and after the *Scots*, *Verum eadem Britannia Romanis usque ad Cæsum Julium Cæsarem inaccessa atque incognita fuit*; as if he had said, *Britain* was first inhabited by the *Britains*; the *Picts* came into it in the next place; after them came the *Scots* in the third place; but the *Romans* came not in till *Julius Cæsar*'s time, about the year 593 of *Rome*, and sixty years before the incarnation. In fine, *Bede* places the coming in of the *Saxons*, *A. D.* 449, the last of all the five nations that had a settlement, at any time before *Bede*, in *Britain*, and whose language still subsisted in that island.

THUS we see a kind of continued tradition, for the *Scots* ancient settlement in *Britain*, carried up from age to age, till the seventh or eighth century. Not to insist upon the testimony of *Sidonius Appollinaris*, who wrote in the fifth age; and supposes, that the *Scots* were in *Britain* in *Julius Cæsar*'s time, and that he fought against them,

.....*Vitricia Cæsar*

*Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos,
Fuderit & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum.*

(a) *Bede*, lib. 1. c. 2.

Now though all those authorities I have quoted may seem, and that deservedly, to the learned criticks of this age, but very inconsiderable proofs of transactions past so long before the authors lived; yet, if compared with those the *Irish* can bring for the ancient settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland*, those I have brought for the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* have a double advantage over them. 1°. Those I have quoted for the *Scots* are all taken from authors already printed, and whose authority hath past the test of the publick. 2°. The latest of them, *John Fordun*, lived nearer the times he accounts for, to wit, the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy, as he places it, in *Britain*, by five or six hundred years, than *Cormac*, author of the *Psaltair Cashel*, the most ancient general history that the *Irish* alledge, lived in regard of the *Milesian Scotish* monarchy in *Ireland*, of which he is said to give an account, and far higher, even up to the deluge, and before it. Besides, that the two most ancient that can be alledged, *Bede* and *Nennius*, prove as much for the high antiquities of the *Scots*, as they do for the *Irish*; and so do most of the rest whom the *Irish* bring to attest their high antiquities.

To conclude, though it must be owned that neither the *Irish*, for the ancient settlement of the *Milesian Scots* in *Ireland*, twelve or thirteen ages before the incarnation, nor the *Scots*, for their settlement in *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it,
can

can give any such proofs of their pretensions, as can satisfy the learned of the present age; yet I hope, by what hath been said in this chapter, it will appear to unprejudiced readers, that the *Scots* have as much to say for their high antiquities, as the *Irish* have in proportion to say for theirs: since all the authorities the *Irish* bring from authors already printed, and received by the publick, for their high antiquities, prove equally those of the *Scots*. So that those of the *Irish* writers that will persist to maintain the opinion of the *Milesian-Scots* settlement in *Ireland*, twelve or thirteen centuries before the incarnation, can have no just cause to reproach the *Scotish* writers, who place the settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* before the *Romans* (under *Julius Cæsar*) came first in to it.

C H A P. III.

Of the Government of the Scots in Britain, upon Supposition of their ancient Settlement. Discussion of the various Accounts of the Scotish Historians, concerning the Government and Kings of the Scots in Britain before King Fergus the Son of Erc.

HAVING shewn in the foregoing chapter, that on supposition of the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, there is no less probability
of

of their settlement in *Britain* before the incarnation; it remains now to examine, upon the same supposition, the nature of the government of the *Scots* in *Britain* in those early times, and to enquire into the truth of the various accounts given by our historians of the kings preceding *Fergus* son of *Erc*, commonly called *Fergus* the second.

THAT the government of the *Scots* in *Britain* (supposing their ancient settlement there) was from the beginning monarchical, seems to follow in course: they are supposed to have come in from *Ireland*, where, according to all the *Irish* writers, monarchical government, and that alone, was in use from all antiquity, and not the least insinuation in any of their writers of any other form: so the *Scots*, at whatever time they came to *Britain*, could set up no other besides that, especially considering there was no other form of government fitted for a rude multitude, particularly in an invasion, and in making a new settlement, but that of being governed by a single person, who either by birth, valour, wisdom, or conduct had credit with, and an ascendant over the rest, who found ways to manage them, and keep order among them, and who had more skill and experience to lead them on against their enemies. Such an unpolished multitude, as the *Scots* must have been at their first coming to *Britain*, were, no doubt, ignorant of all republican schemes, and must needs, when they came to make a separate state by themselves, distinct

stinct from the *Picts*, have had a common leader or captain to head them in their encounters with, and in the opposition they would meet with from the ancient inhabitants, before they were able to make fixed habitations; and the success of their enterprize would apparently engage them to entail the government on this leader and his family.

ACCORDINGLY *John Fordun*, and after him all our other historians agree in general, that the *Scots* in *Britain* were from the beginning governed by kings: that *Fergus* son of *Feradac*, or *Ferchard*, was the first, and they place his reign 330 years before the incarnation: that from this *Fergus* downwards to a second *Fergus* the son of *Erc*, the *Scots* had a constant succession of kings in *Britain*, during the space of about 700 years: but as to the genealogy or lineal descent, the names, the number, the lives and actions of the kings before *Fergus* son of *Erc*; the rights of monarchy of the *Scotish* kings in general, there is a great difference betwixt the accounts of the first, and latest of our *Scotish* historians.

THESE accounts given by them of the kings before *Fergus* the second, whom they all place about the beginning of the fifth age of christianity, may be all reduced to two classes. 1°. That of *Fordun*, and of all our monastery books, his transcribers or continuators. 2°. That of *Hector Boece* and

and his followers, among whom *Buchanan* deserves the chief attention, as being in greater vogue at home and abroad than any of the rest.

ART. I. *Of the account given by John Fordun and his followers, concerning the kings of the Scots in Britain, before the reign of Fergus, called the second, son of Erch.*

JOHN FORDUN, a priest of the diocese of St. *Andrew's*, (a) chaplain of the church of *Aberdeen*, lived in the time of the kings, *Robert* the second and the third, being contemporary with cardinal *Walter Wardlaw*, bishop of *Glasgow*, who died *A. D.* 1386. He compiled the history of the *Scots* in five books, from the beginning, till the death of king *David* the first, *A. D.* 1153, and left some collections towards a continuation; all which were published *A. D.* 1722, with great fidelity and exactness by the learned Mr. *Hearne*, who embellished his edition with a curious search of all that concerns *Fordun's* history, to which I refer the reader, and shall only observe, that this chronicle of *Fordun* was continued down by *Walter Bower*, abbot of *Inch-Colm* [*Æmonia insule*] and other writers of the fifteenth age, till the death of king *James I.* *A. D.* 1437; and the whole work composed of *J. Fordun's* five books, and of the continuation of the history by different hands, till the aforesaid year 1437, is commonly known by the title of *Scotichronicon*.

(a) Liber Passat. in bibl. reg. London.

THE occasion of *John Fordun's* writing the *Scotish* history, and the pains he was at in collecting materials for it, are described by one of his continuators, not long after his time, in the preface to the chronicle (a) of *Couper*; where we are told, that during the debate betwixt *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, about the right of succession to the crown of *Scotland*, king *Edward I.* of *England*, known by the surname of *Longshanks*, having got himself chosen umpire in that debate, under pretence of composing those differences, and of regulating the succession according to the precedents of former reigns, and conformable to the ancient laws and usages of *Scotland*, caused all the libraries of that kingdom to be searched, and gathered up all the ancient histories of the *Scotish* nation; as he did also all the publick records, charters and writs, containing its rights and privileges: all these, I say, king *Edward* caused be gathered up, *A.D.* 1291. under pretence of examining by them the right of the competitors; having also in his view to search into them for proofs of his pretended superiority over *Scotland*. And when he had got into his hands all that could be found of them, he carried up some of them to *England*, and caused all the rest to be burnt and destroyed. *Aliquantas secum & ad Angliam abstulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas despicabiliter commisit*, says the author of the pre-

(a) Præf. libri M. S. B. M. de Cupro infra.

face to the *Couper* chronicle. And by this, *Scotland* remained destitute of historians, and the natives in great ignorance of past transactions.

BESIDES the authority of the chronicle of *Couper*, and others, set down afterwards at length, we have too visible proofs of the destruction of our ancient histories and records, some ten years after this havock made of them, in the famous debate (a) betwixt the *Scots* and this king *Edward I.* A. D. 1301, before pope *Boniface VIII.* concerning the independency of the crown of *Scotland*, where both the instructions which the prelates, barons and consuls of *Scotland*, (as they are called) gave to their deputies at the court of *Rome*, and the memorial drawn up by *Baldred Bisset*, the principal of these deputies, for maintaining the rights of the nation, as well as the letter of the *Scottish* nobility, A. D. 1320, to pope *John XXII.* All these pieces contain such evident marks of a general ignorance of the ancient history and state of *Scotland*, and lean so much on conjectures and uncertain popular traditions, that seemed to make for the cause under debate, but absolutely irreconcilable with all the remains we have of the true state of the northern parts of *Britain* in ancient times; that this alone might suffice to prove, that the *Scots* at that time were generally destitute of all ancient monuments of true history.

(b) Fordun. edit. Hearn. p. 835, 883.

AND this general ignorance of our ancient history continued down till *John Fordun* compiled the *Scotish* chronicle in a new form, that suited best with the taste of the times in which he wrote. In order to that, says the author of the aforesaid preface, *Fordun* spared neither labour nor diligence to restore the history of his country: and for that end travelled over all *Scotland*, searching every where the libraries, churches, monasteries, colleges, universities, and towns, gathering together whatever remains he could meet with to his purpose; discoursing also with learned men versed in history: nay, not content with that, he travelled also, says my author, into *England* and *Ireland* upon the same search, setting down carefully the informations he received as materials for what he intended. Thus furnished, he returned home and set to work. And upon all he had collected within and without the kingdom, he framed to himself a new system of a chronicle of *Scotland*, in five books, beginning at the height of antiquity, and continued down to the death of king *David I. A.D. 1153*. But before we proceed further, it is necessary to give an account of this laborious work of *Fordun* in the proper words of the author of this preface to the chronicle of *Couper*, who living in *Fordun's* time, or very near it, may be depended on, as furnishing the best account we have of *Fordun's* labours on our history.

As

As to the barbarous style of this preface, I hope the beginning of the fifteenth age, when this writer lived, before the restoration of learning, and of the purity of the *Latin* tongue, may be a sufficient apology for the style of this, and other such pieces of these times.

(a) *SECUNDUM* veteres sanctiones, laudabilis antiquitas patribus & priscis observata, non solum approbanda a modernis esse dignoscitur, sed & imitanda. Enimvero nonnulli ante nostra tempora, luculenter satis inclitorum & validorum Scotorum gesta, veridico satis stylo & memorabiles chronicas scriptis reliquerunt. Quæ quasi omnia sua saltem ante tempora membranis commendata, ille truculentus tortor Edwardus III. (b) post ultimum conquestum, rex Angliæ dictus Langschankis, & tyrannus, postquam suboriri cœpit dissensionis materia inter præcellentes principes Broysos, viz. & Balliolos, super juris potioritate succedendi in regnum, violenter abstulit & delevit. Attendens ipse propterea regnum divisum, & per præsens (c) verisimiliter desolandum, finxit se velle tractare quæ pacis erant, tanquam amicabilis compositor, & amicus inter partes, sub ovili vellere allecta sibi callidè ejusdem regni Scociæ procerum una parte, & sic sibi reliqua resistere non valente, ejusdem sibi regni de facto usurpavit custodiam, & oppressionem. At ipse statim occasione, ut prætendebat,

(a) Præfat. chronici B. Mariæ de Cupro MS. penes D. Richard. Hay.

(b) Sic.

(c) Forte partes.

cognoscendū, quis eorum per vetustorum grammatum indagacionem, pleniorē in regno vindicare poterat facultatem, rimatis regni cunctis librariis, & ad manus ejus receptis autenticis & antiquatis historiarum chronicis, aliquantas secum & ad Angliam abstulit, reliquas vero flammis incinerandas despicabiliter commisit.

POST quarum quidem chronicarum amissionem, inter paucos alios ad recolligendum deperditas, exurgens quidem venerabilis presbyter Johannes Fordun, Scotus nomine, ad fortia manum misit, & patrio zelo titillatus efferbuit, nec tamen ab inceptis destitit, donec laboriosis studiis, tam Angliā, quam aliis circumvicinis provinciis peragratis, tanta illinc & in propria, de amissis recollegit, quoadusque quinque librorum volumina, de delectabilibus gestis Scotorum, sicut apud Scotichronicon in magno interferuntur, chronicaliter satis compegit. In hoc laudanda est hominis industria. Attendens ipse, quod non hominis sed numinis proprium esse convincitur, cuncta memoriæ commendare, idcirco & ipse pedester, tanquam apis argumentosa, in prato Britanniae, & in oraculis Hyberniae, per civitates & oppida, per universitates & collegia, per ecclesias & cænobia, inter historicos conversans & inter chronographos perendinans, libros eorum annales contrectans, & cum eis sapienter conferens & disputans, ac tabulis suis dipticiis quæ sibi placuit intitulans, tali fatigabili investigatione, quod non novit invenit, atque in sinuali suo codice, tamquam in alveario inventa, quasi mellifluos favos, accurate

accuratè congeffit: Et ipsa, ut præmisi, in quinque libros, usque ad mortem sanctissimi regis David (a) filii sanctæ Margarete, eleganter intitulavit, &c.

By this 'tis evident, that the *Scots* had formerly good, ancient, and authentick chronicles and annals, as well as other nations; we see the occasion of the loss of them, and *John Fordun's* indefatigable labours, to find materials for a new body of history. But, after all his travels, his materials for the *Scotish* history, especially in the most ancient times, were still very lame, and would have made no great figure, if set down alone; therefore, to remedy this, and make something like a body of history, *Fordun* was forced, where he wants other materials, to run out upon the general history of *Europe*, civil or ecclesiastical: besides that, the succession of the emperors, and such other chief transactions, were in a great measure necessary for connecting the few particulars *Fordun* had recovered of the *Scots*, with a fixed order of chronology, as he hath done all over his history.

ACCORDINGLY, to reduce it to a regular method, he divides it into five books, each of which contain a particular period or age of the *Scotish* history, and begins with a remarkable *Æra*. The first book contains, in his account, about 1175 years, from *Gathelus*, his leaving *Egypt* in *Moses's* time,

(a) Filium MS.

A. M. 3689, (according to *Fordun's* account) to the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain*, under *Fergus*, son of *Ferchard*, *A. M.* 4864. This book, besides foreign matters, contains the first origine of the *Scots*, as was then believed, from *Geythelos*, or *Gathelus*, son to *Neolus*, a king of *Greece*, his going to *Egypt*, where he espoused *Scota*, daughter to *Pharao*, in *Moses's* time: upon the *Egyptians* being drowned in the red sea, *Gathelus* left *Egypt*, and went to *Spain*, from whence the *Scots* sent thrice to *Ireland*. 1°. *Hyber*, son to *Geythel*. 2°. *Micelius*, or *Milesius's* sons, *Eremon* and *Partholan*; but, according to *Fordun*, *Eremon* returned to *Spain*, and succeeded his father. 3°. *Simon Breac*, who carried with him the fatal stone, and settled in *Ireland*: from *Ireland* the *Scots* spread themselves, first, into some isles of *Britain*; that of *Rothsay* was so called from *Rothay*, or *Rothsay*, who past over among the first *Scots* to that island. Others of the *Scots* came over gradually, and settled in *Britain*; and *Fergus*, son of *Ferchar*, or *Feradac*, came over about 330 years before the incarnation, and made himself the first king of the *Scots* in *Britain*.

FORDUN's second book contains the *Scotish* history, from the setting up the monarchy by *Fergus* son of *Ferchar*, *Anno* 330 before the birth of *Christ*, during the space of 733 years, till another famous *Æra*, whereof we have the first account from *Fordun*, to wit, the restoration of the
Scotish

Scotish monarchy in *Britain*, *A. D.* 403, according to *Fordun's* account, by king *Fergus II.* about forty years after that kingdom had been ruined by *Maximus* the usurper.

THE third book contains the history of the *Scots*, from *Fergus II.* son of *Erch*, *A. D.* 403, during the space of 428 years, till the reign of king *Alpin*, father to king *Keneth*, who united the *Pictish* and *Scotish* kingdoms.

THE fourth book contains the history from king *Alpin*, and the famous *Epoch* of the union of the *Pictish* kingdom with that of the *Scots*, during the space of about 236 years, till the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*.

THE fifth book of *Fordun's* chronicle, begins with the reign of *Malcolm Keanmore*, *A. D.* 1056, and contains the history of 96 years, till the death of king *David I.* *A. D.* 1153.

So we have from *Fordun* the form at least of a continued history, or chronicle of the *Scots*, from the highest antiquity, till the twelfth age, and downwards. And indeed, if it be considered, what a sad condition our history was in when *Fordun* undertook it, it must be acknowledged, that it required a great labour, and no small capacity and knowledge for these times, to have brought it into the regular form and method in

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which

which he hath left it. This chronicle was in so great esteem in those days, that all our monasteries, and other churches, which had been deprived of their ancient history in king *Edward I.*'s time, as well as the rest of the kingdom, did so universally adopt *Fordun's* chronicle, as the standard of our history, that it bore, in after-ages, the general name of *Scoticchronicon*; and each monastery making only a few inconsiderable additions to it, and continuing it down, gave it its name: Hence it was called *Liber Paslattenfis*, *Sconanus*, *de Cupro*, &c. after the names of the several monasteries which adopted, transcribed, and continued it.

THUS far as to *Fordun's* chronicles in general. We are now to consider the accounts he gives of the kings, of the government, and monarchy of the *Scots* in the times preceding the reign of king *Fergus* son of *Ereb*, or *Fergus II.* In his first book, as we said before, after the vulgar stories of the *Scots*, under *Geythelos*, or *Gathelus* and his posterity, their coming from *Greece* to *Egypt*; from thence to *Spain*; from *Spain* to *Ireland*; and from that to *Britain*; he gives the following account of the beginning of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain*, and of the origin of the regal and legislative power among them: That the first *Scots* came over, by degrees, from *Ireland* to *Britain*; that being a confused headless multitude, without laws or government, and exposed to the oppression of the
Picts,

Picts, (a) *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, of the ancient race of the *Scotish* kings of *Ireland*, a brave prince, carried over with him to *Britain* a gallant troop of young men, and gathering together the *Scots*, that had hitherto lived up and down among the *Picts*, and uniting them into one people with those he brought along with him, and settling them on the *Western* coasts, and in the islands of *Britain*, he made himself the first king over them (*Super eos Regem primum se constituit*) and thus he founded the monarchy (b), making laws and statutes for the government of his new kingdom, and settling the limits of it. And this, by the way, is the most ancient account that the *Scots* in *Britain* can bring, from history or record, of the first original of regal or legislative power among them.

6. FROM this *Fergus*, called the first, down to *Fergus* the second, during the space of above 700 years, (c) *Fordun* says, there reigned forty five kings over the *Scots* in *Britain*, of the same nation and kindred; and accordingly, (d) he gives the genealogical series or descent, in the direct line, from this *Fergus* I. son of *Ferchard*, down to *Fergus* II. son of *Erch*, which we shall set down afterwards at length; and it is the only an-

(a) *Fordun*, lib. i. c. 34.

(b) *Fordun*, l. 2. c. 12.

(c) *Fordun*, l. 3. c. 2.

(d) *Idem*. l. 5. c. 50.

cient genealogy of these *Scotish* kings, which we find still the same in all writers, of different ages, and different countries; nor is there any other genealogy to be met with, till *Hector Boece* produced a new one, never heard of, that we can learn, before his time. But it is further to be remarked, that *Fordun* gives us this bare ancient genealogy, and no more; for he tells us neither the lives, nor actions, nor times of the reigns, nor even so much as the distinct names of his forty five kings, neither in his second book, where he proposes to treat designedly of them, nor any where else; nor does he, in setting down the names, from father to son, in the genealogy, inform us who of them were kings, and who not. He only names as king, *Reither*, or *Reuther* the Vth. in the genealogy from *Fergus* I. and says, he was the same that *Bede* calls *Reuda*; and one king *Eugenius*, whom he calls uncle to *Erch*, who was father to *Fergus* II. But as to all the other forty five kings preceding this *Fergus*, *Fordun* owns ingenuously, that for the present he could say nothing distinctly of their reigns, because he had not found any full account of them (a). And in this state he left seven centuries of the *Scotish* history, being forced to fill up all those ages with extracts from the *Roman*, *British*, or general history, for want of materials of that of the *Scotish*, notwithstanding his so laborious and diligent searches after them. But

(a) *Fordun*, l. 3. c. 2.

we shall have further occasion to speak of this chronicle of *Fordun* more than once hereafter, and to examine the credit and grounds particularly of this part of it that concerns the forty five kings. What we have set down here, is only in order to serve us in the discussion we are to make of the grounds and credit of the history, as it is delivered by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers, which we are to inquire into in the next articles.

7. THE continuators or abbreviators of *Fordun*, during the fifteenth age, were many, and those of the most learned of the *Scotish* nation of those times, in what related to history, and who had the fairest occasion, that any writers could have, of access to all that remained of ancient monuments of the *Scotish* history; such were *Walter Bower*, or *Bowmaker* abbot of *Inch-Colm*, *Patrick Russel* a *Carthusian*, the chronicle of *Couper*, and others still extant; yet none of them, though they made additions to other parts of *Fordun's* history, have made any new discoveries as to the forty five kings preceding *Fergus II.* nor any addition to the little that *Fordun* contains of these kings; but all of them, after repeating over his lame account of them, conclude that whole period of these forty five kings with *Fordun's* (a) own words, *A primo quidem hujus regni rege Fergusio filio Ferchar*

(a) *Fordun*, lib. 3. c. 2.

ad hunc regem Fergusium filium Erch inclusive quadraginta quinque reges ejusdem gentis & generis in hac insula regnaverunt. Sed & horum singillatim distinguere tempora principatum ad præsens omitimus: nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus. Thus Fordun concludes all he had to say of the forty-five kings: and thus after him, in proper terms, all his continuators repeat them. In a word, all of them agree with Fordun, or rather barely copy after him, in the genealogy and number, and in the same silence of the distinct names, lives, and actions of these forty-five kings, and all of them give the same reason of their silence, to wit, the want of a full account of them; all of them give also the same original of the monarchy among the Scots in Britain: and this was all the light we had in that first Epoch of our history, till A. D. 1526, that Hector Boece published his new discoveries, of which we are next to treat.

ART. II. Of Hector Boece, and his account of the first forty kings of the Scots in Britain.

§. I. Of Hector Boece, and his history in general.

HECTOR Boece or Boethius, born in Dundee, studied in the university of Paris, and there commenced master of arts, A. D. 1494. He was contemporary with his countryman John Major, who also studied and taught with great reputation in that university. Boece, speaking of him and of some other divines that flourished there in his time, shews a singular respect for them: *These men,* (a) says

(a) says he, *I will ever have in veneration, their doctrine I will always admire.* Now 'tis to be remarked, that *John Major* and his disciple *James Almain*, writing about these times in defence of the doctrine of the *Gallican* church, concerning the superiority of general councils over the pope, seem to have had no clear notion of the distinction of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, and venturing sometimes out of their own sphere, which was scholastick divinity, they drew very irregular consequences from the one of these powers to the other: but these consequences, in regard of the civil powers, were afterwards solemnly disavowed and rejected by those (b) that maintained the same doctrine as to the ecclesiastical.

HOWEVER, these dangerous notions seem to have had some influence on *Boece*, in the historical work which we are about to examine. He informs us, that he was called away from *Paris* by bishop *Elphinston*, before he had finished his studies. The occasion of that good bishop's inviting him, and as many other learned men in different faculties, as he could draw to *Aberdeen*, was in order to assist him in forming the university he had newly founded at *Old Aberdeen*, his episcopal seat. *Boece*, upon his coming, was made canon of *Aberdeen*, and principal of the new college. He had been particularly acquainted at *Paris* with the famous *Erasmus*, and they kept after-

(a) Boeth. vit. episcop. Aberdon. fol. 27.

(b) Richerius vindic. doctrinæ majorum, p. 320. ed. Col. 4to.
wards

wards a correspondence by letters. Among others of *Erasmus's* letters to *Boece*, there's one in which *Erasmus* gives him a catalogue of all he had published to that time.

IN effect, *Boece* was one of the first in these northern parts, who, by assiduous reading, and imitation of the ancient *Latin* authors, began to restore the *Latin* tongue to its purity, instead of that barbarous style, which, from the fall of the *Roman* empire, had over-run all till later ages. This is easy to perceive in *Boece's* works when compared with the other writers, before, or about his time. The first that he published was the lives of the bishops of *Aberdeen*, A. D. 1522. But what chiefly rendered him famous was the history of the *Scots*, whereof the first edition was printed at *Paris* by *Badius Ascensius*, A. D. 1526. Another edition, with a continuation by *John Ferrerius*, was published also at *Paris*, A. D. 1575. After the death of bishop *Elphinston*, A. D. 1514, *Boece* continued in the same degree of credit under his successors, the bishops *William Stuart* and *Gawin Dunbar*. But after much search at *Aberdeen* and elsewhere, I could no where find an account how long he survived the publishing his history, A. D. 1526. All I have (a) met with concerning him since that time is, that I found him witness to a charter of bishop *Gawin Dunbar*, dated the fourteenth of *December*, 1529, designed thus [*Test. Hec-*

(a) Cartul. Aberdon. in biblioth. jurid. Edinburg. fol. 158.

tore Boetio sacrarum literarum professore, collegii
Aberdon. primario.]

As to his history of the Scots, he informs us in his dedication to *James Beaton*, archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, and chancellor of *Scotland*, that his intention in writing the *Scotish* history at the intreaty of his friends, was to put the brave actions of the Scots in a brighter light, and to excite the learned to read them, by writing them in a more accurate and elegant style of *Latin*; whereas the barbarous style of the former writers of our history had made it be neglected by the learned, and buried in oblivion. It appears also by the whole tract of his history, that his aim was to represent the monarchy of the Scots in *Britain* as one of the most ancient kingdoms, to remove from the ancient Scots the character of barbarous, and set them out in the earliest times as a polite, civiliz'd people, that acted all by common-councils and regular assemblies, whilst most other northern nations remained as yet uncultivated; to extol the valour of the Scots in ancient times, their battles against the *Romans*, and victories over them, in times that generally all other known nations were forced to be under their yoke.

BUT one of his chief views all through his history, seems to have been what he insinuates, both in his epistle dedicatory to the king, and in that to the archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, to set down

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patterns to the young king *James* the fifth, during whose minority this history was penned, and to his successors, by the models which it presents of virtuous kings always attended with prosperity; and to frighten them from vice, by the punishment and tragical ends of wicked princes, as well as to keep them in awe by the frequent examples he relates, of their having been called to an account by their nobles, and punished by them for their mal-administration.

§. II. Of the vouchers or authorities on which
H. Boece's history is grounded.

BUT the question I am here to examine is, the truth of his relations and grounds of his history; and that depends in great measure on the credit of his vouchers, or monuments of ancient history, on which that of *Boece* is built: those he mentions are the chronicle of *Inch-Colm* (*Insula Æmonie*) bishop *William Elphinston*'s history, that of *Turgot* bishop of *St. Andrew's*; but chiefly those of *Veremundus*, *John Campbel*, and of *Cornelius Hybernicus*. I suppose this last furnished *Boece* with accounts of the *Scots*, before their coming from *Ireland* to *Albany*.

As to the chronicle of *Inch-Colm* (*Insula Æmonie*) written by *Walter Bower* abbot of that monastery, who continued *John Fordun*, doctor *Gale* had informed us, that a copy of *Fordun*, which belonged formerly to *Boece*, was extant,
and

and in his possession, as it still remains in that of his son *Roger Gale Esq*; who was pleased to favour me with a sight of it: it is the same which, as I observed already, was published by *Mr. Hearne*, A. D. 1722. And there is a great appearance that all the real bottom that *Boece*, or rather the compilers of his memoirs, had to go upon, was the first five books of *Fordun's* history; how far he hath followed them will appear by what we have to say of his performance: but 'tis somewhat surprizing that *Boece* never once mentions *John Fordun's* history by his own name, tho' we are assured that he had it in his possession.

WILLIAM Elphinston bishop of *Aberdeen*, died A. D. 1514. *Boece* says that this bishop wrote the history of *Scotland*; and he proposes to himself, above all others, to follow *Elphinston* in his history. There is indeed in the *Bodleian* library a MS. history of *Scotland*, in a hand about *Elphinston's* time, which was given to that library by general *Fairfax*, as being bishop *Elphinston's* work. It is divided into eleven books, whereof the first five are *John Fordun's* chronicle *verbatim*; the following six are of some one of *John Fordun's* continuators, whether bishop *Elphinston*, or another, is uncertain: but if this were bishop *Elphinston's* genuine work, which is not very likely, then we must suppose that *Boece* intended to impose upon his readers, when he tells us that he chiefly imitated, or followed bishop *Elphinston* in his history.

For this *Bodleian* MS. being, as to the first part, entirely *Fordun's*, it is absolutely different from the memoirs that *Boece* hath followed, since it hath nothing but a few lines of the forty first kings, as we have seen, and entirely differs from *Boece* in the names and order of the royal descent, or genealogy of the kings, from *Fergus* the first till *Fergus* the second, as well as in the calculation of years.

AND we have another proof from a very certain work of bishop *Elphinston*, that he knew not, at least in the year 1509, three or four years before he died, any other account of our history but that which *Fordun* had left. This is the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, according to the use or rite of the church of *Scotland*, done by bishop *Elphinston*, or by his care, and printed by his order at *Edinburgh* the aforesaid year 1509, whilst he was bishop of *Aberdeen*. Now in this *Breviary*, where he relates the first planting of christianity in *Scotland*, there's not one word of king *Donald*, whom *Boece* makes our first christian king; and in the legend of (a) *S. Palladius* under king *Eugenius*, the author keeps close to *Fordun's* chronology, very different from that of *Boece*.

THE next voucher of *Boece*, for his history, is *Turgot*, bishop of *St. Andrew's*. Now all we have heard hitherto for certain of the *Scottish* history,

(a) 6 July.

from

from *Turgor's* pen, is the life of *S. Margaret* queen of *Scotland*, which is often quoted by *Fordun*, and others, and still remains: and why might not his history of *Scotland* have been seen also by others, besides *Boece*, and still remained to posterity, if he had truly wrote such a history? At least *Fordun*, who frequently quotes *Turgor's* life of queen *Margaret*, could not have failed to have also quoted his history of *Scotland*, if he had found it, and in his diligent searches through *Scotland* and *England*, of all the monuments of the *Scotish* history, he could not have missed, I think, to have met with that of *Turgor*, had there been any such extant in his time.

THUS we see the whole weight of the credit of *Boece's* history, especially of the reigns of the first forty kings, and indeed of all that it contains of these ancient times, over and above what we meet with in *Fordun*, is at last resolved into the authority of *Veremundus* and of *John Campbell*; and he gives us this account how he came by them.

THAT he had them from *Ycolmkill*, which, says he, from the days of king *Fergus II.* had been appointed by him for the depositary of publick records on this occasion: that this king (*a*), during his exile, had assisted *Alaric* at the sack-

(*a*) Boet. hist. præfat. ad Jacob. V. fol. 3. & Histor. Scot. fol. 114.

ing of *Rome*, A. D. 409; and that whilst others carried off gold and silver, *Fergus* had chosen for his share of the plunder a chest of books, which he carried off with him; and after his restoration placed it in *Ycolmkill*, ordering that island to be thenceforth the depositary of all publick monuments of history, and especially of the *Scottish* annals, and appointing keepers to take care of them: that when king *Edward I.* destroyed or carried off all our publick records and monuments of history, those of *Ycolmkill* escaped; and that from this island *Boece* had the works of *Veremundus* and *John Campbell*, with other ancient pieces of history lent him to *Aberdeen*.

BUT to pass over here those exploits of *Fergus II.* and what is said of *Ycolmkill*, where the monastery was not founded till about 160 years after those times, I cannot but observe, that there appears here some want of memory in *Boece*, in what he says of the place appointed for the preservation of our annals and histories, for A. D. 1522: four years before he published his history, in his lives of (a) the bishops of *Aberdeen*, *Boece* had informed us, that tho' *Fergus II.* had indeed appointed at first *Ycolmkill* for the keeping the mo-

(a) Inde [ex *Jona insula*] sed multos post annos ut Restennothii (munitio est in Angusia, ubi nunc canonicorum D. Augustini coenobium) quod ad Jonam difficilis admodum erat aditus, nostri annales inde traducti reservarentur, Alexander primus rex edixit. *Boetb. præfat. ad vitas Episc. Aberd.* f. 1.

numents of our history; yet, long after, king *Alexander I.* considering the distance of *Ycolmkill*, and the difficult access to it, had caused our annals, and other monuments of history, to be removed from that island, and transported to *Restennoth* in *Angus*. So we were to look no more for any thing of that kind from *Ycolmkill*. At least it appears by this, that *Boece* knew nothing, *A. D.* 1522, of *Veremund*, or his other famed records of *Ycolmkill*; and accordingly he tells us, (a) that they were sent to him only in the year 1525. And yet, by the beginning of the next year 1526, his whole history, a large volume in folio, grounded chiefly on these records, was finished: since his epistle dedicatory to king *James V.* (which is commonly the last thing an author puts his hand to) is dated *April 1, A. D.* 1526, and the volume itself came out in print at *Paris*, that very same year. This was a wonderful diligence, not to call it precipitation, in a work that for its difficulty, and the obscurity of these ancient times, seemed to require much maturity and discussion; and for its importance, to deserve them. This, with the apparent contradictions above-mentioned, concerning the place whence he brings his records, is certainly no good omen in the beginning of the history which we are to examine, and would make one apt to conjecture, that *Boece* found the body of his history done to his hand, by some body

(a) Boet. hist. fol. 114.

that had not a mind to appear; and that he had nothing to do, but give it his own turn, style and order.

HOWEVER that be, before I enter upon the discussion of *Boece's* history, and the vouchers he brings for it, I cannot but do him that justice to think that he had assuredly, when he published his history, copies of histories or memoirs, bearing the names of *Veremund, Corn. Hybernicus*, and of *John Campbel*; and that he believed these were transcripts of ancient historical monuments of *Tcolmkill*. For whatever may be thought of *Boece's* credulity, or even his inclination to invent, and magnify what relates to his country at the expense of truth, it seems simply incredible that he could have, in his epistle dedicatory to the king, published over the kingdom so notorious facts, if there had not been books or writings sent him, bearing the names of *Veremundus, John Campbell, &c.* but there is no means left to free him in like manner from want of discernment of ancient writings, and also from simplicity and too great credulity in taking on trust whatever writings or memoirs were given him, as taken from ancient histories or records, or even from a great inclination to enlarge on the inventions of others, if he was not himself capable to invent.

FOR I think it may be clearly made out to any that are conversant in what assured monuments remain

main of the ancient state and history of *Britain*, that the writings and memorials that passed under the name of *Veremund* in *Boece's* time, (the same thing I say of *John Campbel*, and the other vouchers of *Boece's* history of the first forty kings, and all it contains of those times, over and above what is to be found in *John Fordun*) are but late inventions about *Boece's* own time; and so the whole fabrick of his story of the forty kings, which he built upon the authority of those vouchers, is without any solid foundation; and, 'tis probable, was only intended to serve a turn.

§. 3. *Proof first against the vouchers of Boece's history. The silence of all former writers.*

THE first proof of the writings or histories attributed to *Veremundus* and *John Campbel*, their not being the genuine works of authors of the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth age, as *Boece* supposes, but inventions of later times, is that they had never been heard of before *Boece*, tho' greater inquiry had been made after pieces of that nature by former writers than *Boece* either did or could make.

ABOUT 130 years before *Boece* wrote, *John Fordun*, as we have seen (a), in order to restore the *Scottish* history destroyed by king *Edward I.*

(a) *Præf. Chron. Cupren. supra. p. 205.*

travelled over all *Scotland*, searching all churches, monasteries, libraries, colleges, &c. for monuments or records of the ancient history of *Scotland*: nay his zeal for that good work carried him to travel through *England* and *Ireland*, upon the same search, taking informations from all persons of learning, or that were versed in history, and sparing neither labour nor expence. Now if *Xcolmkill* was so well known, as *Boece* and our modern historians will have it, for the place chiefly appointed in past ages for preserving our annals, records and histories, can it be imagined that *John Fordun*, in all his travels through *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, in all his searches through churches and monasteries for historical records, would have omitted to search the monastery of *Xcolmkill* alone, where he might be sure to find more records of *Scotish* history than in all the rest together?

AND if he went to *Xcolmkill* upon such a design, having copied out, and made his collections in every place where he came, would he have omitted to take notice of such ancient, so full and particular accounts of the history of the kings before *Fergus II.* as *Boece* says that *Veremund* and *Campbel* contained? And if he had found the history of the first forty kings so fully and so distinctly set down, as it is by *Boece* from *Veremund* and *Campbel*, would he have deliberately told us, as he does, that he had passed over these kings, because he had found no distinct or full account of them

them in writing? especially since the accounts that *Fordun* gives of the reigns of our kings, from *Fergus II.* till near *Malcolm Keanmore*, which appear so lame to us, seemed full enough to *Fordun* to be distinctly set down.

AGAIN, since *Fordun* sets down the series or succession of the *Pictish* kings, tho' he had no more than their bare names, and the years of their reigns, would he have omitted to have given us at least the series, with the names and years of the reigns of the first forty or forty-five kings, if he had any where met even with that? especially if it be observed, that in all appearance one of the chief motives of *Fordun's* travels and searches was to find out materials for the history of these first forty, or, as he calls them, forty-five kings; he being the first, that we know of, who makes mention of them. Since then *Fordun* could find no account of the actions, nor years of the reigns, nor even of the distinct names of these ancient forty-five kings, nor any thing but the bare genealogy, and gives us only the names of three of them, tho' he travelled so far, took so much pains, made such diligent searches every where, for whatever could give any light into the *Scotish* antiquities, tho' he had the greatest and most learned of our countrymen of that age to assist him, such as cardinal *Wardlaw*, and others; what credit can be given to the new discoveries never heard of before, made by *Boece*, who never travelled a foot,

that we hear of, out of his college of *Aberdeen*, to look after them?

THE continuators of *John Fordun's* history do furnish us with another unanswerable proof, that those particular accounts of the first forty kings, which *Boece* says he met with in *Veremund*, and his vouchers, were not extant either in *Tcolmkill*, or any where else in *Scotland*, in the age preceding *Boece*. There are still remaining many copies of *Fordun*, with continuations of his history done by different hands. The chief authors were *Walter Bower* or *Bowmaker*, abbot of *Inch-Colm*, *Patrick Ruffel* a *Carthusian* monk of *Perth*, the chronicle of *Couper*, the continuation of *Fordun*, attributed to bishop *Elphinston* in the *Bodleian* library, and many others.

ALL these were written in the fifteenth age, or in the time betwixt *Fordun* and *Boece*, by the best historians that *Scotland* then afforded, and unquestionably well qualified for searching into, and finding out what remained of ancient M.S. histories any where hidden within the kingdom, especially in abbeys and other monasteries: they being all either abbots, or the most learned churchmen or monks in their respective churches or monasteries, and having the best opportunity for writing, by their connexion and correspondence with the other monasteries, churches, and learned men in the kingdom.

BESIDES

BESIDES, that the chief of them had in their view not only to continue down *Fordun's* history, but to enlarge upon what he had compiled, and to add to his chronicle what they could discover that was new concerning the antiquities of *Scotland*. So we see abbot *Bower*, or the author of the *Scotichronicon*, or book of *Paſſay* in the king's library at *London*, and in that of *Edinburgh*, and elsewhere, intended, by distinguishing his own additions by the word *ſcriptor*, from *Fordun's* text by the word *auctor*. The ſame account of ſeveral additions made to *Fordun* by *Macculloch*, compiler of the chronicle of *Scoon*, we have from (a) *David Buchanan*. *Patrick Ruſſel* a *Carthuſian* made alſo new additions, as it is remarked in the end of the MS. *Scotichronicon*, in the poſſeſſion of the earl of *Murray*; and in the MS. chronicle itſelf, in the lawyers library at *Edinburgh*, intituled, *Liber Carthuſianorum de Perth*. It is further to be remarked as to abbot *Bower*, that tho' he was not abbot of *Xcolmkill*, as ſome have called him by miſtake, occaſioned by the equivocal ſignification of the word *inſulæ S. Columbæ*, but of *Inch-Colm* in the *Frith* of *Forth*; yet it is probable he was in a more ſtrict and particular union and correſpondence with the monaſtery of *Xcolmkill*, by reaſon of both theſe monaſteries being under *S.*

(a) Biſhop *Nicholſon's* Sc. Hiſt. Libr. p. 90, edit. 1.

Columba's protection, as their common patron; and by consequence *Bower* would, without doubt, have a more free access to such ancient monuments as were in *Tcolmkill*, than others.

Now let me ask what can be more improbable (in case there had been in those days such valuable monuments of history in *Tcolmkill*, as *Boece* tells us there were) than that none of all those writers of the fifteenth age, men so well qualified and circumstanced to find out the ancient monuments of the *Scotish* history, so diligent searchers after them, in order to supply the imperfect account that *Fordun* had left of the succession of the kings, from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.* that being what was most wanted in the history they all commented upon: What can be more improbable, than that none of these writers, no not *Bower*, so united with *Tcolmkill*, should ever light upon *Veremund*, or any one of these pretended histories, which *Boece* says were preserved in that abbey? nor upon any further account of the reigns, succession, or even names of the first forty kings, than what *Fordun* had set down? but all, and every one of them conclude the lame account of the forty or forty-five kings before *Fergus II.* with these very words of (a) *Fordun*: *A primo quidem hujus regni rege Fergusio filio Ferchar ad hunc regem filium Erch inclusive quadraginta quinque reges ejusdem gentis & generis in hac insula regnave-*

(a) *Fordun*, lib. 3. cap. 2.

runt, sed & horum singillatim distinguere tempora principatuum ad præsens omittimus, nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus.

THIS is indeed but a negative argument; but withal it seems to be of that force against *Boece's* new discoveries, that I cannot see what rationally can be opposed to it: for to say that *Fordun* and his continuators, who were so zealous to discover any help to the *Scotish* ancient history, should search every where else in *Scotland*, and not have recourse to *Ycolmkill*, so famous over all the kingdom, as being the most ancient monastery extant in *Britain*, and according to *Boece*, the depositary of our ancient histories, is plainly against common sense: and 'tis no less incredible that, supposing they searched into that monastery, they should not make as great discoveries as *Boece*, who was never at the place.

MOREOVER, since it is acknowledged by all the *Scotish* writers, and we have too sad proofs of it in the debates of the *Scots* against the *English*, before *P. Boniface VIII.* (as hath been already shewn) since, I say, there's no doubt, but generally all our ancient histories were destroyed or carried off in king *Edward I's* time; how could those in *Ycolmkill* escape the common fate, if it was so renowned for being the chief depositary of our annals and histories? for it signifies nothing to say, that the monastery being so remote, it escaped the

the *Englismens* searches; for it was not the *English* by themselves that searched for all our histories, and brought them to *Norham*, A. D. 1291; they were not as yet masters of *Scotland*; it was the *Scots* themselves, in a common cause, that related to the settling the debated succession, according to the use and custom of *Scotland* in former ages, that produced their ancient histories wherever they could discover them, to be inspected and examined by the chosen arbiters appointed to give their opinion in the cause depending betwixt *Baliol* and *Bruce*. So it being a general concern of all the *Scotish* nation, whatever annals or histories, whether in *Tcolmkill* or elsewhere, could serve to discover the former use and custom of the succession of the kings of *Scotland*, were brought thither; and being once on *English* ground, they never went home again, but were either destroyed or carried off, those of *Tcolmkill* with the rest.

So that when *John Fordun* set about the restoring our history, it does not appear that there was any where remaining, at least in *Scotland*, any entire annals, or continued history of *Scotland* from the beginning; for the chronicle of *Melrofs* begins properly the *Scotish* history, only at the marriage of *Malcolm Keanmore*, and *St. Margaret*, A. D. 1067. What precedes that is the *Saxon* or *English* history, where *Bede* had left off; and the few passages concerning the *Scotish* kings, interspersed in that

that chronicle, are visibly of a posterior hand in the original; besides, there's all the appearance, that in king *Edward I's* time this chronicle of *Melrofs* was carried off to *England* with the rest. So that the best materials that *John Fordun* had to go upon, were the ancient genealogy, with the series of the names of the kings, from *Fergus* the second downwards, with the years of their reigns, extracted from our ancient chronicles inserted in some chartularies or other monastery books. Of these, and such other collections as *Fordun* found in his searches, with his own inferences from them, he composed his history, such as we have it, of our kings, from *Fergus* the second downwards. And for a farther proof that we had no compleat history remaining when *Fordun* wrote his chronicle; we need only observe, that all our most famous monasteries throughout the whole kingdom, such as *Pasly*, *Scoon*, *Couper*, &c. adopted for the ancient history of the kingdom *Fordun's* five books, as the only history of *Scotland*, from the beginning till *David I's* death; and that with the additions to it, and continuations of it, made in the several monasteries of the kingdom, is originally what was afterwards called by the name of each monastery, *liber Paslatensis*, *liber Sconensis*, *de Cupro*, &c. And what confirms the matter, and is decisive upon this head, even the monastery of *Tcolmkill* itself, adopted *Fordun's* chronicle, which is yet remaining in an ancient hand, by the title

of,

H h

of, *The chronicle of Ycolmkill*, being (a) recovered, as I am informed, by the late earl of *Cromarty*, and still in the possession of his son, or some of the family. Now those of *Ycolmkill* would never have adopted *John Fordun's* lame accounts for the proper chronicle of their monastery, had they possessed such ancient annals as those of *Veremund*, or *John Campbel* are pretended to have been, or at least they would, in transcribing *Fordun*, have supplied from *Veremund*, &c. what was wanting in *Fordun* of the succession, lives and reigns, or at least the names of the first forty kings.

S. 4. *Proof the second against Boece's history. The most part of the names of his forty kings forged upon names of the old genealogy, and a new genealogy drawn up.*

A second proof of *Boece's Veremund*, and other vouchers for his history of his first forty kings, their being a forgery and invention of later times, is taken from the genealogy he gives us of these kings. The whole frame of this history, as delivered by him, depends on the genealogy and names of these forty kings; which, if they prove counterfeit and forged, the fabrick built upon them must fall to the ground, since nothing ought to be more certain than the persons themselves of whom the history treats. Now I conceive it may be evidently shewn, that both the names of the most

(a) D. Abercromb. hist. Scot. Tom. II.

TABLE I.

OLD GENEALOGY of the Kings of SCOTS, from Fergus Son of Ferchard, to Fergus Son of Erch.

COL. I. According to the original <i>Gállick</i> , or old <i>Scotish</i> .	COL. II. According to the more ancient and more correct Copies of the twelfth and thirteenth Ages.	COL. III. According to the latest and most incorrect Copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth Ages.
1 Feradach	1 Feredac <i>al.</i> Ferchar	1 Ferchar <i>al.</i> Ferthar
2 Forco <i>al.</i> Forgo	2 Forgo <i>al.</i> Fergus	2 Fergus
3 Maine	3 Maine	3 Main
4 Earndil <i>al.</i> Arindil	4 Arandill	4 <i>Deamdill al.</i> Dearndill
5 Roghein	5 Rouein	5 Rowen
6 Rothrer	6 Rothir <i>al.</i> Rether	6 Rether <i>al.</i> Reuther
7 Threr	7 Treir <i>al.</i> Ther.	7 There
8 Rosin	8 Rosin	8 <i>Josin</i>
9 Suin <i>al.</i> Sin	9 Sin	9 <i>Fin</i>
10 Deadha <i>al.</i> Deaga	10 Dedaíd <i>al.</i> Dethach	10 Dethach
11 Hiair	11 Iair	11 Iair
12 Oilioll <i>al.</i> Olill, & Aihilla	12 Elela	12 Elela
13 Eogan	13 Eoghan <i>al.</i> Ewen	13 Ewen
14 Eidersceol	14 Ederskeol	14 Eder Skeol
15 Coner-moir	15 Coneremor	15 Conaremor
16 Cairpri <i>al.</i> Corbre fin-moir	16 Corbre-finmor	16 Corbre-finmor
17 Dair-dorn-mor	17 Daredornmore	17 Dardremore
18 Cairpri <i>al.</i> Corbe-crom-cion	18 Corbrecromcin	18 Corbre
19 Luig. <i>al.</i> Lugtach-Al-latach	19 Lugtach Ellatig	19 Lugtach
20 Mogolama	20 Mogalama	20 Mogal
21 Conair	21 Conar	21 Conare
22 Eocha Righfhota, <i>al.</i> Riada	22 Eochad Riede	22 <i>Ethod-riede</i>
23 Fiachrach taithmail	23 Fiachrach Cathmail <i>al.</i> Catinel	23 Fachrach
24 Eochach-andoch	24 Eocha Andoth	24 <i>Ethad al.</i> Ethod
25 Achirchir	25 Akirkire	25 Akirkire <i>al.</i> Athirkir
26 Findachai	26 Findach	26 Findoch
27 Cruichlinch	27 Cruichlinch	27 Cruithlinth
28 Sencormac	28 Sencormac	28 <i>Fencormach</i>
29 Feidlimith-Ramnath	29 Fethelmae-Romach	29 Fethelmac-Romach
30 Eangusa-buidim	30 Angusa-butim	30 Angusa
31 Feidlimith-Aflingreth	31 Fethelmeth-Aflingret	31 Fethelmech
32 Eangusa-fear	32 Angusa-fir	32 Angusa-Fith
33 Eocha-muin-remair	33 Ecchach-munremor	33 <i>Ethadius</i>
34 Erc <i>al.</i> Erch	34 Eirc <i>al.</i> Erch	34 <i>Ertb</i>
35 Fergus mac Erch	35 Fergus	35 Fergus

COL. IV. NAME Boece's Kings, from the most incorrect Copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth Ages. Old Genealogy.

Whence, 1 Boece's Feritharius King
2 Fergusius, B. 1 K.
3 Mainus, B. 3 K.
4 Dornadilla, B. 4 K.
6 Reuther and Reuther B. 6 and 7 K.
7 Thereus, B. 8 K.
8 Josina, B. 9 K.
9 Finanus, B. 10 K.
13 Evenus, B. 14 K.
14 Ederus, B. 15 K.
16 Corbredus, B. 19 K.
17 Dardanus, B. 20 K.
18 Corb. Gald. B. 21 K.
19 Lugtachus, B. 23 K.
20 Mogaldus, B. 23 K.
21 Conarius, B. 24 K.
22 Ethodius, B. 25 K.
23 Sathrael, B. 26 K.
24 Ethod. II. B. 28 K.
25 Athirco, B. 29 K.
26 Findocus, B. 31 K.
27 Crathlinthus, B. 34 K.
28 Fincormacus, B. 35 K.
29 Romachus, B. 36 K.
30 Angufianus, B. 37 K.
31 Fethelmacus, B. 38 K.
33 Ethodius
34 Erthus, father of Fergus II.
35 Fergus II. B. 40 K.

Note, All the Names in these Genealogies are in the MS. Copies, whence they are taken, joined by the Word Filius in Latin, or Mac in Gállick, beginning from the Bottom, and reckoning backwards up to the Top: Thus, Fergus, filius Erc, filii Eocha, f. Eangus, &c. In Gállick, Fergus mac Erc, mbic Eocha, mbic Eangus, and so on.

TABLE II.

Page

NAMES of
Kings, taken
most incorrect
the fifteenth
cent Ages of
alogy.

Feritharis, 2^d

us, B. 1 K.

B. 3 K.

lla, B. 4 K.

and Reutha,

nd 7 K.

, B. 8 K.

B. 9 K.

B. 10 K.

B. 14 K.

B. 15 K.

us, B. 19 K.

us, B. 20 K.

ald. B. 21 K.

us, B. 23 K.

us, B. 23 K.

, B. 24 K.

, B. 25 K.

B. 26 K.

I. B. 28 K.

B. 29 K.

, B. 31 K.

thus, B. 34 K.

acus, B. 35 K.

us, B. 36 K.

us, B. 37 K.

acus, B. 38 K.

Father of Fer-

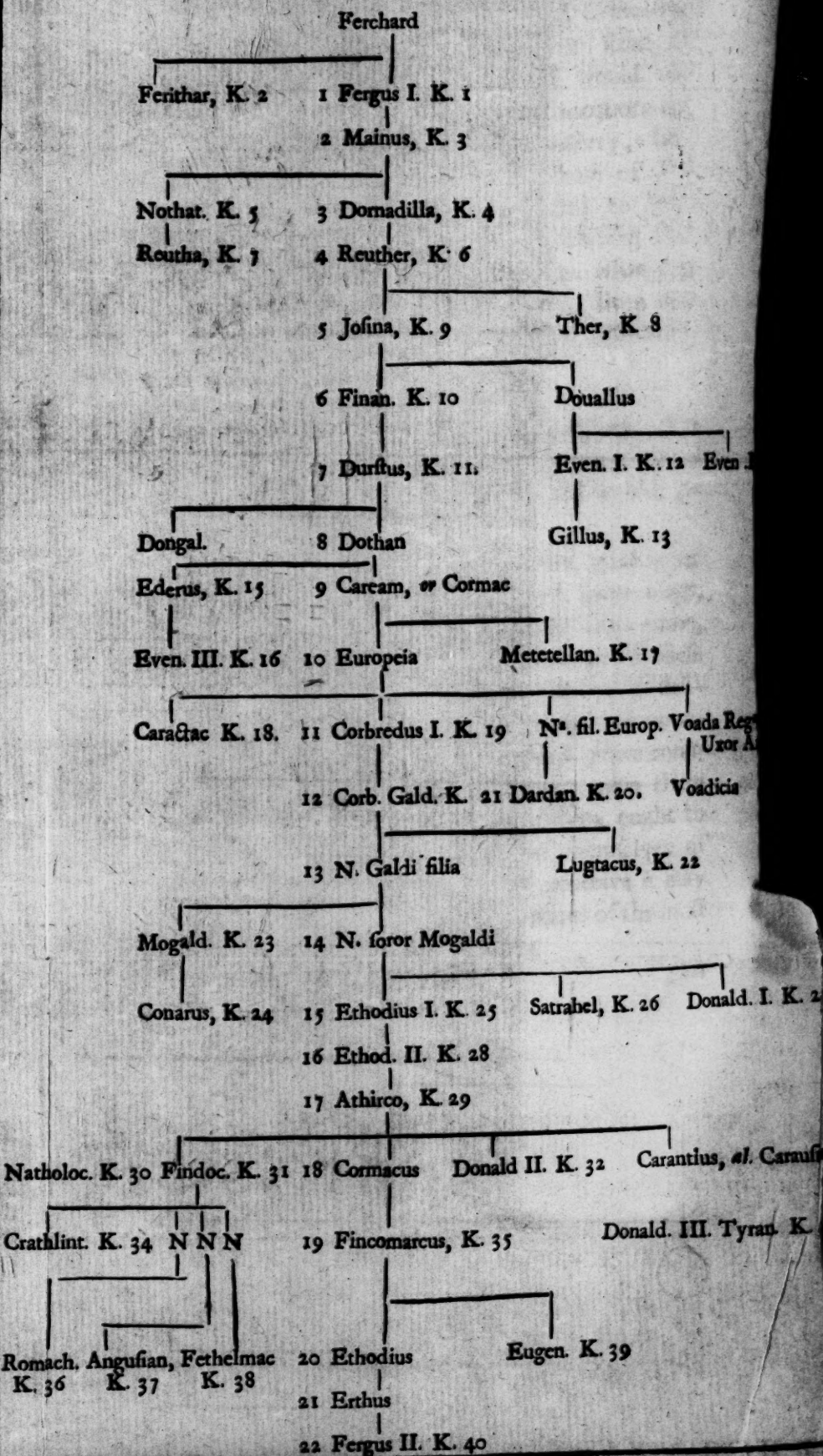
I. B. 40 K.

COL. I. Series or Catalogue of Boece's first forty Kings.

- 1 Fergus I. son of Ferchard
- 2 Feritharis, son of Ferchard
- 3 Mainus, son of Fergus
- 4 Dornadilla, son of Main
- 5 Nothatus, son of Main *
- 6 Reuther, son of Dornadill.
- 7 Reutha, cousin of Reuther
- 8 Thereus, son of Reuther *
- 9 Josina, son of Reuther
- 10 Finan, son of Josina
- 11 Durst, son of Finan *
- 12 Evenus I. cousin to Durst
- 13 Gillus, nat. son of Evenus *
- 14 Evenus II. brother to Even. I.
- 15 Ederus, nephew of Durst
- 16 Evenus III. son of Ederus *
- 17 Metellanus, Ederus's nephew
- 18 Caractacus, Metellan's nephew
- 19 Corbred, Caractacus's broth.
- 20 Dardanus, Corbred's neph. *
- 21 Corbred Galdus al. Galgacus, Corbred's Son
- 22 Lugtac, Corbred Gald. son *
- 23 Mogaldus, Lugtac's neph. *
- 24 Conarius, Mogald's son
- 25 Ethod. I. Mogald's nephew
- 26 Satrahel, Ethod's brother *
- 27 Donald I. Ethod's brother
- 28 Ethod. II. son to Ethod. I.
- 29 Athirco, Ethod. II.'s son *
- 30 Narhalocus, usurper *
- 31 Findoc, Athirco's son
- 32 Donald II. Athirco's son
- 33 Donald III. usurper *
- 34 Crathlinth, Findoc's son
- 35 Fincomarc, Findoc's nephew
- 36 Romach, Crathlinth's nephew *
- 37 Angufian, Crathlinth's nephew
- 38 Fethelmac, Crathlinth's nephew
- 39 Eugenius, Fincomarc's son
- 40 Fergus II. son of Erth.

Note, Those Kings marked with a *, are Scottish Kings, either arraigned, or deposed, or punished, or put to death by their Subjects, according to Boece and Buchanan's histories.

COL. II. NEW GENEALOGY of the Kings of SCOTS, Fergus I. Son of Ferchard, to Fergus II. Son of Erth; according to H. BOECE, G. BUCHANAN, and their Followers.



part of *Boece's* kings, and the descent or genealogy which he gives of them, in as far as it differs from the old genealogy contained in *Fordun*, are a modern invention about *Boece's* own time.

IN order to put this matter in a full view, the reader will find here two tables; the first divided into four columns, whereof the first three contain three different copies of the old genealogy of the predecessors of our kings, from *Fergus* son of *Ferchard*, called *Fergus I.* to *Fergus* son of *Erch*, or of *Fergus II.* according as they are set down in three different periods of time by writers of different ages (a). All which nevertheless, making a due allowance for the mistakes of transcribers, are every where the same: and as they all agree in the main, so they all entirely differ from the new genealogy given by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers. Of these four columns in the first table, the first contains the names of the old genealogy, as they are written in the original *Gaelick* or old *Scotish*: the second contains the same names, according to the more ancient and more correct copies done by *Lowlanders*, from the twelfth till the fourteenth or fifteenth age. The third column contains the same names, such as they are found in the latest and most incorrect copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth ages. In fine, in the fourth column are set down the names of those of *Boece's* forty kings, that are taken from the old genealo-

(a) V. the genealogical tables.

gy, and formed upon the most incorrect, and by consequence the latest copies of it contained in the third column.

THE second table is divided into two columns; in the first is set down the series or catalogue of *Boece's* first forty kings, with the new parentage he has assigned to them. The second column contains the scheme of the new genealogy framed, by *Boece*, or his vouchers, for his forty kings, from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.*

THE reader having the tables in his view, will be more able to judge of the reflections I am to make upon them.

THE first thing to be observed concerning these genealogies is, that the old genealogy, such as it is contained in the three first columns of the first table, and given by *Fordun* (a) in two different places of his chronicle, was the only known genealogy of the *Scottish* kings, till the year 1526, that *Boece's* history, with a new genealogy, never heard of before, was published; and this genealogy given by *Fordun* is attested by the authority of the writers of all ages and countries who set down that of the kings of *Scots*.

IN the twelfth age, the author of the genealogy, in the MS. intituled, *Chronica Regum Scottorum*,

(a) *Fordun*. edit. Hearn. lib. 5. c. 50. p. 487, 759.

rum, set down in the appendix, N^o. 4. who was a *Scotish* writer; and *Radulfus de Diceto* dean of *London*, an *English* writer, relate, both of them, this genealogy just as it is set down by *Fordun*; and that they both wrote in the twelfth age, appears by their carrying up the genealogy from our king *William*, as being the king then reigning; and those are the oldest copies to be now met with, of the genealogy of the *Scotish* kings; excepting the accounts we have of it from the *Irish* writers, who pretend to have it of a much higher antiquity, and their accounts of that genealogy are the same in the main, as *Fordun's*, and differ only in four or five names.

IN the thirteenth age, the *Highland Seanachy*, or *Antiquary* mentioned by all *Fordun's* continuators, and by *Major*, pronounced this genealogy in the same series of names, from *Fergus* son of *Erch*, to *Fergus* son of *Ferchar*, and upwards, at the coronation of king *Alexander III. A. D. 1249*; and this being on so solemn an occasion, in presence of the three estates of the kingdom, assembled for the coronation, carries with it the sense of the whole kingdom, especially that of all the *Highland Seanachies*, so well versed in, and so tenacious of the ancient genealogies; and this whilst our ancient records, or histories, were as yet entire, and before they were destroyed by king *Edward I.*

IN

IN the fourteenth age, *Walter Wardlaw*, one of the most eminent persons for learning in his time, having been bred in the university of *Paris*, of which he was rector *A. D.* 1345. and afterwards doctor in divinity; and on his return home, chosen bishop of *Glasgo*, and at last created cardinal, by pope *Clement VII.* under whose obedience *Scotland* was. This great man, whom *Fordun* (a) consulted, gave him the same genealogy, in the same terms: and *Fordun* himself, after all his travels and searches, inserts this in his chronicle, as being the authentick genealogy of our kings, and conformable to what he had met with every where else.

IN the fifteenth age, all the writers of the *Scotish* history, abbots, church-men, and religious men of the chief churches and monasteries, continuators of *Fordun*, give us the same genealogy after him. In the very beginning of that age, *Winton*, canon regular and prior of *Lochlevin*, gives us the same genealogy in his chronicle, in verse, which he must have had from the records of *St. Andrew's*, or other chronicles; for it is evident he never saw *Fordun*. In the same age also, *A. D.* 1460. *William* (b) *Fratours* canon of *Aberdeen*, and prebendary of *Philorth*, gives us exactly the same genealogy which he took, as he affirms, from several chronicles.

(a) *Fordun*, l. 5. c. 50.

(b) *Bibliot. Cotton.*

IN fine, in the beginning of the sixteenth age; *A. D.* 1521. four years before *Boece* made his new discoveries of *Veremund*, &c. *John Major* published his history, and gave us from the *Highland* gentleman, just the same genealogy as the rest, excepting the faults of transcribers, or printing, which are without number, in that short history, being printed at *Paris*, whilst the author was absent in *Scotland*.

THUS we see, besides the *English* account of that genealogy the same as ours, and the *Irish*, which differs only in four or five names; the *Scottish* writers in all ages, in all parts of the kingdom, south, north and *Highlands*, the writers of the clergy, and those of monasteries, all agree, without exception, allowing for the faults of transcribers, on the same names and series of the genealogy, from *Fergus*, the son of *Ferchar*, called *Fergus I.* down to *Fergus II.* son of *Erb.* Nor will it be found, upon inquiry, that the genealogy given of our kings by *Boece*, from *Veremund*, &c. or indeed any other than what I have set down from *Fordun*, in the first table, was ever mentioned, or heard of, before the publishing *Boece's* history, *A. D.* 1526.

THIS might suffice to shew, that the genealogy published by *Boece*, and by consequence all that is built upon it, is nothing but an invention of his own time. But to bring that up to a full conviction

viſtion, we are to conſider farther the differences there are betwixt the genealogy given by *Boece*, and the only known genealogy to his time. Theſe differences conſiſt chiefly in two things: 1^o, the abridging the number of the deſcent or degrees; and 2^o, what is a neceſſary conſequence of that; the difference of the order or ſeries of the deſcents or parentage, by placing ſome, that according to the ancient genealogy deſcended in the direct line, into the collateral line, that they might not be quite loſt; as will appear by inſpection of the three firſt columns of the firſt table, containing the old genealogy, as it is found in different ages, compared with the genealogy given by *Boece*, in the ſecond table, col. 2.

IT is to be obſerved, that the alterations made by *Boece*, or his vouchers, were not the effect of their being ignorant of the old genealogy, for it was all the bottom they had to go upon: and we are beſides well aſſured, that *Boece* himſelf had that genealogy twice repeated in the MS. of *For-dun* already mentioned, which belonged to *Boece*, and was given by him to the library of the college of *Aberdeen*. But it appears that they deſignedly altered the genealogy, for reaſons of their own; whereof one ſeems to have been to render, as they imagined, their hiſtory of the forty kings more plaufible. The ancient genealogy makes thirty three generations from *Fergus* ſon of *Ferſbar*, till *Fergus* ſon of *Erch*. *Boece*, or his vouchers,

ers, have reduced them to twenty one, or twenty two. The design and intention of this abridging the genealogy seems to have been, that they wisely considered, that from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.* there were, according to *Fordun's* account, thirty three generations, during the space only of about 730 years, to wit, from the year 330. before the incarnation, till *A. D.* 403. after it; and that in much about the same number of years from *Fergus II.* beginning *A. D.* 403. till king *David I's* reign, *A. D.* 1124. there were only about twenty one generations; and therefore they thought it much more plausible to reduce the number of the generations of the first race, to that of twenty, or twenty one generations, as in the second, it not being very likely, that in the same number of years there should be ten generations more in the first race, when men were supposed rather to live longer, than in the second.

FORDUN, and these other writers that followed him, did not make all these reflections, but set down with simplicity what they had received by tradition, or found in writing: that *Fergus I.* son of *Ferchard*, came to *Britain* 330 years before the incarnation, and was the first king of the *Scots*; that from this *Fergus* there was a succession of kings down till *Fergus II.* son of *Erch*, but no account of their lives and reigns, nor even of their names; but finding the series of the genealogy and number of the generations betwixt these two *Fer-*

gus's, and that universally received, without examining whether there were not too many generations for that period of time, they honestly set them all down as they found them in former writers. Had *Fordun* placed the beginning of *Fergus*, son of *Erch*'s reign only in the year 503, instead of 403, all would have been right, and the number of generations of the first race would have agreed much better with that of posterior ages; thirty one generations from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.* in the space of 830, and 31 generations from the beginning of *Fergus II. A. D. 503.* till king *Robert II.* first of the name of *Stuart*, during about the same number of years. Had *Fordun*, fixed upon that epoch of the reign of *Fergus II.* all had been right. But that is what *Fordun* did not reflect upon; and *Boece*, or his vouchers, who saw there was some mistake in the number of generations, made things much worse, by abridging the old and universally received genealogy, and forging partly out of it, and partly out of their own imagination, a new one never heard of before.

IN consequence of *Boece*'s abridging the number of generations in the genealogy, many of the names must be different, and their relation one to another inverted. Many, in the direct line, according to the old genealogy, being thrown into the collateral line in the new; the fathers and sons can be no more the same; and so it is, for in the
twenty

twenty one generations to which *Boece* reduces the thirty three of the old genealogy, only four or five are left as they were; all the rest are changed, but nothing is lost: for the names cut off from the direct line serve to make up kings in the collateral; some that were sons and fathers before, are come to be brothers, or cousins, but all of them kings, good or bad, and accordingly praised or punished, as it was thought useful by those that created them, towards encouraging or curbing their successors in later times, and the compassing the other ends that the first inventors of these new discoveries proposed to themselves.

THUS only the three first names of the old genealogy (*Fergus*, *Maine* and *Aryndill*, changed to *Dornadilla*) are preserved by *Boece*, and all made kings. But *Rouein*, grandson to *Aryndill*, is left out, and *Bede's Reuda*, or *Reutha*, whom *Fordun* had made the same with *Rether*, is substituted for *Rouein*, and made the seventh king by *Boece*, and made brother to *Rether*. *Rosin* altered to *Josina*, of grandchild to *Rether*, is made his son, and hath *Tber*, or *Thereus*, for his brother, who was his father, and both are made kings. *Sin* changed to *Fin*, or *Finnan*, is *Boece's* tenth king, and instead of *Detbach*, *Durflus* is assigned to be his son. The rest of the new genealogy is so intirely different from the old, that of *Boece's* twenty eight kings following, there are scarce four to whom there is not given a new parentage, and they are made

either brothers or cousins to those that were their fathers, according to the old genealogy; and many of them are entirely of new creation, or transplanted from other countries, and grafted in this new genealogy, as may be seen by comparing the old and new genealogy together (a).

FOR as the names contained in the old genealogy, being only thirty two betwixt the two *Fergus's*, could not suffice to form *Boece's* thirty eight kings, (besides that there are four or five of the names left out apparently on purpose to make room for others) there are added ten or twelve new names of kings, and all grafted in the new genealogy; such are *Feritharis*, *Metellanus*, the three *Donalds*, *Nothatus*, *Durftus*, *Gillus*, *Evenus III.* *Natholocus*, *Romachus*, *Caractacus*, *Galdus*, besides *Carausius*, mis-called *Carantius*, and the famous *Voadicia*. And there seems a visible design in the choice of them all, suitable to the general scope which *Boece*, or the authors of his memoirs, seem to have levelled at in that history. Each of them being appointed to act the personages either, 1°. of eminent models of virtuous princes to be imitated; such are the characters attributed to *Feritharis*, *Metellanus* and *Donald* the first christian king, never heard of before *Boece*; or, 2°. To act the personages of vicious and tyrannical kings, and accordingly punished by their subjects, to keep their posterity in awe; such are *Nothatus*, *Durftus*, *Gillus*, *Evenus III.* *Natholo-*

(a) V. the tables of genealogy.

cus, Donaldus III. Romachus, &c. The third kind of new kings or princes grafted on the genealogy, are the chief famous *British* warriors against the *Romans*, designed to set out the honour of the kingdom, and render the history more taking and agreeable to the natives; such are *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures*; *Galgacus*, the famous *Caledonian* general, called by *Boece* *Galdus*, or *Corbredus Galdus*, and the warlike *Carausius*, miscalled *Carantius*, is also grafted on the new genealogy, as are likewise *Vooda* and *Voodicia*.

§. 5. *A third proof against Boece's history, is, the forty kings names forged upon corrupted names of the old genealogy, in or near Boece's own time.*

A third proof is drawn from the difference or variety that appears betwixt these names, as they are set down in the most ancient and correct copies of the old genealogy, and the same names as they are deformed and corrupted in *Boece's* history: and here we have a new and evident proof, not only of the forgery of this new genealogy, and so of all the history built upon it; but these varieties point out to us the time in which these vouchers of *Boece* were coined, to wit, in the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth age.

To set this in a clear light, let it be observed, that the old names contained in our kings genealogy, are originally *Gaelick*, or *Irish*; that being the ancient language of the *Scots*, by consequence these names.

names would be better preserved when transcribed by those that understood that language, than by *Lowlanders*, who being wholly ignorant of it, would more readily mistake and corrupt these names in transcribing them; and most of the copies we have of that genealogy, being written by *Lowlanders*, the later the copies are, the more incorrect they must be in course, each new transcriber adding his own mistakes to the faults of his copy: so generally speaking, the more incorrect we find any of these copies of the genealogy, the more we are assured they were transcribed in later times. So if these names be no where more corrupted and incorrect than in the copies on which *Boece's* kings and new genealogy have been framed, it will be a plain proof that the memoirs, or vouchers he followed, were of a very late date.

BUT to come more close to the precise date of the vouchers of *Boece's* history; there needs only for that but to compare the M S S. copies of the royal genealogy, written in the latter end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth age, with the true *Gaelick* or *Irish* names, and with the most ancient and best copies done in former ages, and both these copies with the names that *Boece* makes use of in his history, as taken from his *Veremund*, *Campbel*, and his other new annals of *Scotland*; and it will visibly appear, that the compilers of those pretended annals lived not in the eleventh age, where *Veremund* is placed, nor in the twelfth
or

or thirteenth, supposed to be the age of *John Campbel*; and that they were not *Highlanders*, as is pretended, that the same *Campbel* and *Cornelius Hybernicus* were; but that they were the contrivance or workmanship of some *Lowlander*, and done upon copies of the genealogy written only in the fifteenth or sixteenth age, such as they were a little before *Boece's* own time.

AN evident proof of this is, that there hath been in the copies of the genealogy, on which *Boece* or his vouchers have composed their catalogue of kings, the very same (a) corruptions and false readings which we find in the copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth ages, and which are not commonly in the copies of the genealogy written in former ages, whereof the most ancient are generally the more correct and conformable to the genius of the *Highland* tongue. For example, in all the ancient copies of that genealogy, preceding the fifteenth age, we read, *Arindyll*, *Sin*, *Rosin*, *Echach* or *Ecchad*, *Achircir*, *Cruiclinch*, *Sencormac*, *Ercb*: whereas in the corrupted copies of the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth age, and in these only, instead of *Arindyll* we find *Dearndill*, upon which was forged *Boece's* fourth king *Dornadilla*; instead of *Sin* we read *Fin*, whence *Boece's* tenth king *Finanus*; instead of *Rosin* we find *Josin*, whence *Boece's* ninth king

(a) See column the third of the first table.

Josina;

Jofina; in place of *Ecbac* we find *Ethod* or *Ethad*, whence *Boece's* twenty-fifth and twenty-eight kings, *Ethodius* I. and II. And a general mark that the transcribers of these genealogies lived in the fifteenth or sixteenth age is, that they, for the most part, read *th* for *ch*, as *Athircir* for *Achircbir*, whence *Boece's* twenty-ninth king *Athirco*; and instead of *Cruichlinch* they read *Cruitblinth*, whence *Boece's* thirty-fourth king *Cratblinthus*; *Fensormac* instead of *Sencormac*, whence *Boece's* thirty-fifth king *Fincormacus*; instead of *Ercb* they read *Erth*, whence *Boece's* *Erthus*, father to *Fergus* II. To all these false readings of the latest transcribers of these genealogies, *Boece* or his helpers have added new ones of their own, which are not to be met with in any former copy of the genealogy, new or old, that I have seen; but may have been in the latest and most corrupted copies. Thus instead of *Fiachrach*, they have probably read *Siatbrael*, the *F* being changed into *S*, the *ch* into *th* in the middle of the word, and into *el* in the end of it: all which were ordinary mistakes in the fifteenth age, and only in it: and from this corruption of the name *Fiachrach* become *Siatbrael*, came *Boece's* twenty-sixth king *Satbrael*. By all which it seems evident, that the memoirs furnished to *Boece*, whatever name they bore, were late pieces forged upon corrupted copies of the old genealogy, not long before *Boece's* own time; and after they had been hidden some years, have been found

found out in *Boece's* time, and sent to him as copies of ancient histories of *Scotland*, probably betwixt the years 1522 and 1525: for in the (a) year 1522, (as I have already observed) *Boece* seems to have known nothing of the annals or other MSS. of *Ycolmkill*; but in the year 1525, he tells us he had his *Veremundus*, *J. Campbel*, &c. sent him from thence.

§. 6. *Fourth proof: Boece's history stuffed with fables.*

A fourth proof of the forgery of *Veremund*, and of *Boece's* other vouchers, may be taken from the facts that he relates on the credit of his new vouchers; especially when these details which he gives, are compared with the lame accounts we have of what passed in the northern parts of *Britain*, from the earliest and best historians, during those ages in which the forty kings are placed.

1°. NOT to insist here upon the difficulties of the early settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, (of which afterwards) the account that *Boece* gives of the extent of their dominions in their beginning, is plainly contrary to the certain accounts that we have of the extent of the *Pictish* dominions in the sixth age of christianity, from *Adamnanus* an eye-

(a) Boeth. vit. episcop. Aberdon, fol. 30, 31.

witnefs; for it is evident, that the *Picts* in the fixth age poffeffed as yet, as they had done from the beginning, all the moft northern parts of *Scotland*, which *Boece* makes his *Fergus I.* beftow liberally on the *Scots* his followers 800 years before.

2°. *BOECE*'s vifible contradictions to the *Roman* writers in what paffed in their own time; fuch as his accounts of *Camelodunum*, the *Silures*, the *Brigantes*, *Caractacus*, *Voada*, *Carausius*, &c. the *Roman* wars or treatifes with the *Scots* in the times of his kings *Ederus*, *Metellanus*, *Mogaldus*, *Ethodius I.* *Donald I.* &c. All which wars of the *Scots* with the *Romans*, *Buchanan* found fo vifibly fictitious, that he either contradicted them, or paffed them over in filence, tho' *Boece* quotes his *Veremund*, or other vouchers, for them all.

3°. THE fabulous ftories in his hiftory, copied from the *Roman* or other hiftories; fuch as the *Scotifh* women married to the *Picts* interceding between their husbands and parents, like the *Sabine* in *Titus Livius*; king *Mainus* like *Numa* eftablifhing the f acred rites; the tables of the laws made by *Fergus I.* *Dornadilla*, and others; and all politick deliberations and fine harangues he puts in his *Scotifh* grandees mouths, from the fame *Titus Livius*, and others. Befides thefe, his fables of new invention, as the meffage of *Ptolomy* transformed from a geographer into a king of *Egypt*; that

that of the two philosophers from *Spain* with the knowledge of the true God many years before the incarnation; his making the *Cambrians* a distinct nation from the *Britains*; the story of *Fergus II.*'s expedition with *Allarick* to the destruction of *Rome*, and his bringing from thence a chest of books; and so many other such like stories, all built on the authority of his *Veremund*, and other vouchers; but all rejected also, or passed over in silence by *Buchanan*.

4°. IN fine, the detail he gives of the lives, deaths, councils, wars, reigns, and all with their dates, of his forty kings, at as great length, as if they had lived only a few years ages before himself, and with as great assurance as if he had the authority of the best historians to go upon, is a new proof of a fertile invention: besides that, even *Veremundus*'s work, tho' it were extant, or could have been shewn to be written in the eleventh age, could not be a sufficient authority to warrant a detail of transactions, many of which were past twelve or thirteen ages before.

§. 7. *Fifth proof: new principles of government.*

IN fine, a fifth proof of the imposture of *Veremund*, and of the other pretended ancient writers, on whose authority *Boece* built all that he relates of the first forty kings, over and above what *J. Fordun*'s chronicle contains, is the new maxims

of state directly levelled against monarchical government, together with all the precedents and examples which he relates of the *Scottish* kings having been made accountable to their own subjects, and obnoxious to be punished by them for their male-administration. All which principles of government, and precedents of popular power, prove not only the imposture of *Boece's* vouchers, but do also make it manifest, that far from being the writings of authors of the eleventh or twelfth ages, where his *Veremund*, *Campbel*, &c. are placed, they are late inventions, composed no sooner than the fifteenth age, after the death of king *James III.* that is, a little before *Boece's* own time.

To make this evident, it might suffice to shew, that there is not so much as one clear instance of any such power or right exercised or claimed by the *Scots*, whether nobility or people, assembled or separated, over their kings, to be met with in any ancient history or record, from the beginning of the monarchy till the reign of king *James III.* Rebels there had been in former ages among the *Scots*, as in other nations, and private traytors that have even attempted on the lives of their princes; but these, far from being countenanced by the subjects, had been on the contrary treated as they deserved by the far greatest part of the nation. There have also been factions and insurrections of discontented parties in *Scotland*, as in other kingdoms; but these have generally been either

ther quelled by the king's own prudence and authority, or suppressed by the concurrence of their loyal subjects: at least there never had been heard of among the *Scots* any such thing as an act of the states to justify rebellious proceedings against the sovereign, till the act *Of the proposition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, made in the first parliament of king *James IV.* A. D. 1488, composed chiefly of the actors of the tragedy.

THAT what I have here to say, in order to prove that the vouchers of *Boece's* history were posterior to the death of king *James III.* and to the act intitled, *Of the debate of the field of Striveling*, made A. D. 1488, may not be misunderstood; I must here declare, that in treating of this subject, my intention is to keep exactly within the bounds of an historian or critick, and to examine a pure matter of fact, necessary towards discovering the precise age or time of the contrivance of the writings under the titles of *Veremundus*, *John Campbel*, &c. made use of by *Boece* as vouchers of his history.

I have already shewn, in the preceding §§'s, by the errors of the copies of the old genealogy, employed by the contrivers of these vouchers of *Boece*, that they could be no older than the fifteenth age: and here I intend to add a new proof of their being of that date, taken from the new maxims of government advanced by *Boece* on the credit of these

these writings, and particularly from the power attributed by them in ancient times to the nobles and people of *Scotland*, to set up a tribunal for their kings, to call them to account for their administration, and to punish them for male-administration with imprisonment, deposition, and even with death; and not content barely to advance these maxims, as being principles or rules of the *Scottish* government, they have set down examples of their having been effectually put in practice against no less than about a third part of their forty kings, and upon several others of their successors.

So all that I intend here, is to set down summarily on this head what is necessary to lay open the foundation on which *Boece's* history of the first forty kings seems to be built, and what appears to have been the occasion of its writing; and in order to that to shew in the first place, that all that *Boece's* vouchers delivered of our kings being accountable to any under God for their administration, is contrary to the ancient laws, history, and custom of *Scotland*, before the fifteenth age; and by consequence grounded only upon inventions, in or about that time. 2°. To trace out the different steps and occasions by which the ancient notion of the right of the sovereignty of our kings came to be first obscured and diminished, and then the right itself directly invaded by a faction of the nobility in the fifteenth age; whence followed by degrees new maxims concerning the power of the nobility

nobility or people over their kings, in cases of pretended male-administration, and a new scheme of our ancient history adapted, to justify and impose those new maxims on posterity.

§. 8. *Principles of Scottish government, according to the old laws of Scotland.*

AND first, as to our ancient laws: by all of them preceding the fifteenth age, our kings held their crown only, and immediately of God, and were accountable to him alone for their administration: none can be judged, or called to account, but by their superiors or peers. Our kings, by our ancient laws, had neither superiors nor equals on earth [(a) *Rex Scotiæ*] *nullum habet superiorem nisi ipsum Creatorem cæli & terræ, qui cuncta gubernat.* And again (b) *Dominus rex [Scotiæ] nullum potest habere parem, multo minus superiorem.* In all public acts, ancient and modern, our king is stiled thus: (c) *Our Sovereign Lord the King.*

THE ancient kings of Scotland were by law and custom originally the sole fountain of all property, honours, or dignities, and of all temporal jurisdiction. As to property, our kings, till *Malcolm II.* were sole proprietors of all the lands of Scotland. *Malcolm* was the first that was pleased to give them out, and divide them among his subjects. It is by this acknowledgment that our most

(a) *Regiam majestatem præf. n. 3.*

(b) *Ibid. lib. 2. c. 44. n. 3.*

(c) *Supremus Dominus noster Rex.*

ancient laws begin, *Dominus rex* (a) *Malcolmus dedit & distribuit totam terram Scotiæ hominibus suis.* (b) And all the lands of *Scotland* are to this day holden mediately or immediately of the king: and though they are become many ages ago hereditary by the king's gift, no heir can enter but by the king's authority and writ, and on condition to hold them of him, and to be faithful to him as sovereign.

THE king is also the sole fountain of all titles of honour. It was his will and free choice that originally made a distinction between a nobleman and a commoner: and all noblemen of whatsoever degree are, as to their titles, honours, and privileges, the King's *Creatures*, as the tenor of all their patents bears (*Creamus*, &c.) and even in the vulgar language, their accession to their title, honour, or dignity, is expressed by their being *created* lord, earl, duke, &c. by such or such of our kings. Accordingly our first earls are thought to be of *Malcolm III*'s *creation*; our first dukes are of that of *Robert III.* our first marquisses and viscounts of the *creation* of *James VI.*

THE king is the sole fountain of all temporal jurisdiction and legislative power: all laws are both enacted and executed in his name, and by his authority. Till the fifteenth age our ancient laws

(a) *Leges Malcolmi Mackeneth*, c. 1. n. 1.

(b) *Fordun*, lib. 4. c. 43.

ran in this stile: *Rex statuit, or rex statuit cum consilio, aut deliberatione, & assensu prælatorum, comitum, &c.* All tribunals, from the highest to the lowest, sit and act by his authority; all courts are fenced in his name. The highest tribunal, that of the three estates or parliament, is the king's great council: the several members of it are originally the king's counsellors, not his assessors; they have place and vote by authority, derived originally from him alone. The lords or barons, spiritual or temporal, by his creation; the commissioners of shires, by the lands that they hold of his gift, are eligible to represent the shires: the royal burghs are all of the king's erection, and from his authority they derive their privilege to have deputies in parliament: he alone made at first the distinction betwixt the royal burgh and the village. He alone hath power of the sword immediately from God, as his minister: and therefore by our laws, all rising in arms, all convocation of the lieges, without the king's order and his authority, was treason. Thus far as to our Laws.

§. 9. *Right of the Scottish monarchy, according to old histories.*

As to our histories, the only general histories we have now extant before king James the III^d's reign, are John Fordun's and Winton's chronicles, and the several writers of our monasteries, who for the most part barely copied John Fordun's

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chronicle,

chronicle, or commented on it as far as he went, and continued it, and are known by the name of the several *Scotichronicons*. As to the chronicle of *Melroß*, tho' more ancient than any of these, it begins only where *Bede* left off, in the eighth age; and till *Malcolm Keanmore*, it contains little of the *Scotish* affairs.

Now in the first place, none of all these historians (and they are the only ones the *Scots* have, till after king *James* the III^d's death) have so much as one of the many instances or examples, related by *Boece* from his vouchers, of the *Scotish* nobility calling their kings to account, or claiming any power to judge them, whether before or after the reign of *Fergus* II. As to the instances brought from *Boece*'s history of the first forty kings preceding *Fergus* II, what we have already said in this article, and have as yet to add of that performance of *Boece*, is, I hope, sufficient to prove that all the particulars that *Boece* relates of the lives and actions of these forty kings, (over and above what is contained in *Fordun*) and by consequence, all the instances of the subjects exercising a power over their kings, are a plain forgery: so there's need of no farther answer.

AND as to the instances *Boece* gives of this power being exercised over our kings by their subjects, in the persons of six or seven of them, posterior to the reign of king *Fergus* II. to wit, *Constantine*

Constantine I. Ferquard I., and II. Eugen. VIII. Donald Mac-Alpin V. Eibus and Culen. As to these, I say, *Fordun*, the only ancient *Scotish* historian, who with his continuators contain any account of these kings reigns, hath not one word either of their bad administration, or of their subjects exercising any power over them; but on the contrary, gives a quite different account of such of them, of whom he had found any particulars recorded.

THUS as to *Constantine I.* Whereas *Boece* relates, that he was killed by one of his nobles for his wickedness: (a) *Fordun*, on the contrary, says not a word of his being a wicked prince, but that he died a natural death, after a long sickness.

As to *Donald V. or Donald Mac-Alpin*, who, says *Boece*, was a cowardly, vicious prince, and therefore degraded by his nobles, and thrown into prison, where he laid hands on himself. (b) *Fordun*, on the contrary, says he was a brave soldier, a warlike and victorious king, and after a happy reign died a natural death: and the (c) chronicle of *Pasly* and others add, that he was lamented.

(a) *Fordun*, lib. 3. c. 17, 18.

(b) *Erat enim [Donaldus] miles inclytus & ad omnes actus bellicos fortis & pronus. Fordun, lib. 4. c. 15.*

(c) *Apud Scenam rex Donaldus universæ carnis viam ingressus in Iona sepultus est Insula pro quo tanquam pro rege Kenedo a Scotis planctus extitit. Scotichron. Passat. M.S. in bibl. regia Londin. lib. 4. cap. 15. Idem in Scotichron. colleg. Edinb. in Scotichron. de Panmure, &c.*

ted by the *Scots* at his death, no less than *Keneth* the great, his brother, had been.

As to king *Ethus*, who according to *Boece* was degraded by his nobles, and died in prison. (a) *Fordun* hath not a word of it, but says that *Ethus* was killed in battle by his competitor king *Gregory*: and long before *Fordun*, the same account is given of king *Ethus*'s death by other writers.

As to the kings *Ferquard* I. and II. and *Eugen*. VIII. who according to *Boece*'s vouchers were punished by their nobles for their bad administration. *Fordun* hath not one word of that, nor was any thing ever heard of it till after king *James* III. it was first mentioned by *Boece*.

As to king *Culen*, (b) *Fordun*, and other ancient writers, own indeed he was a debauch'd prince; but none of them, before *Boece*, speaks of any combination of the nobles against him; but that he was killed by a private nobleman in revenge, for having ravish'd his daughter. And even (c) *Buchanan* owns, that the nobles, and other subjects, took highly ill that attempt on his person, though they hated his vices.

AND these are all the examples or instances of our kings, since *Fergus* II. pretended, on *Boece*'s

(a) *Fordun*, lib. 4. c. 16.

(b) *Fordun*, lib. 4. c. 28.

(c) *Buchan*, in *Culen*. 1. 79. fol. 55.

sole authority, or that of his vouchers, to have been called to account, or punished by their nobles: of all which there's not the least mention made by any historian, that wrote before the rebellion against king *James III.* and the act made *A. D.* 1488. to justify this rebellion: the first account we have of any of those tragedies is from *Boece*, after that king's death, and the passing that act.

IN the second place, not only there is no word in our ancient historians, of the *Scots* claiming any power over their kings, but on the contrary, these historians formally attest the king's sovereignty, as the foundation of the monarchy, and indeed of all government among the *Scots*. Thus *Fordun*, when he relates the origine of government among the *Scots*, (a) tells us, that the *Scots*, at their first coming into *Britain*, were a rude,

(a) Præterea dum Picti Scotos advenas hujusmodi damnis affligerent & angustiis, nunciatum est clanculo gentis suæ majoribus, quali quantaque per eos debebant ærumpna. — Hæc igitur ut audivit nobilis quidam & immodicæ probitatis juvenis *Fergus* filius *Ferbæd*, sive *Ferbardi*, ex antiquorum prosapia regum progenitus, quod scilicet *Acepbale* gens suæ nationis absque rectore per *Albionis* vastas vagando solitudines, a *Pictis* ejecta degebat, cordis ob iram candescere cepit. His igitur exhortationibus & ambitione regnandi stimulatus magnam sibi juvenum copiam accumulans, ad *Albionem* continuo progressus est, ubi segregatos e medio *Pictorum* Scotos accolos, una cum his quos secum attulerat, in occidentalibus Insulæ locando finibus, ibidem super eos Regem primum se constituit. *Fordun* edit. *Hearne*, lib. 1. cap. 34. pag. 57.

unpolished

unpolished multitude, without any head or form of government, exposed to the oppression of the *Picts*; which *Fergus*, the son of *Ferchar* or *Feradac*, a brave prince, of the royal descent of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, hearing of, and compassionating the condition of the *Scots* in *Britain*, came over to them with a great number of young men; and gathering together the *Scots* that had hitherto lived scattered among the *Picts*, and uniting them into one people with those he brought with him, he made himself the first king over them, (a) and thus founded the *Scots* monarchy in *Britain*, (b) giving laws, and making statutes for the government of his new kingdom.

AND this, as we have already observed, is the most ancient account we have from our oldest historian extant, of the original of the *Scottish* monarchy: and indeed, if we trace back all other certain histories, sacred or prophane, we shall find monarchy was the first government of the world, and the first kings the work of divine providence, not of the people: the very distinction of nobles and commons was an effect of the wisdom.

(a) Super eos regem primum se constituit, *Ford.* l. 1. c. 34.

(b) Ad hanc insulam Albionis memoratus adveniens *Fergus*, Scotorum primus rex in ea creatus est quibus & ipse datis legibus & statutis, ab occidentali quidem oceano regnum, & ab insulis usque dorsum Albanie dilatans, limites ibidem inter regna constituit: nam orientalis oceani regnum *Picti* coluerunt. *Fordun*, l. 2. c. 11. p. 85,

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of the prince, to assure and maintain the government and observation of the laws, by settling order and subordination among the subjects, and ranking them according to their merits and abilities. And this account that *Fordun* left of the origine of the *Scotish* monarchy, was adopted and copied by all the authors of the several *Scoticchronicons* in the fifteenth age, as being the only notion the *Scots* had of it till that time.

WINTON, our second general historian, tho' he had never seen *Fordun*, and wrote in the end of *Robert III.* or during the captivity of king *James I.* in the beginning of the fifteenth age, gives us much the same account of the right of monarchy among the *Scots*, as *Fordun* does, and delivers it as a firm conclusion, that our kings are independent, and hold their crown and royal authority immediately of God, and are answerable to him alone for their administration: when, after having related how king *Kenneth Macalpin* came to the *Pictish* crown, by the overthrow of that ancient people, he goes on in these words:

The Scots foundit on pair (a) richt
Bot ony help of outwart nicht
Wal recoberit S'wa pair heretage
Ebir to lest (b) with pair Lynage:

(a) That of the Picts.

(b) Leif M.S.

And

And our Kyng til hald his state
 Of God himself immediate:
 Swa for his Ward and his relief
 Crete he with God for (a) his Cheyf,
 And nane uthir mannis persoun
 Hald this a firm conclusioun (b).

This in modern English prose, is as follows:

THE kings of *Scotland* claimed and entred into the possession of the *Pittish* crown, under the right, and by the title of the *Pitts*, without the assistance of any foreign force. Thus they recovered their inheritance, to remain for ever with their race, and to be holden by them immediately, and only of God himself: so that our king, for his holding and dependance, hath none to treat with but God as his only superior, and with no other person whatsoever. Hold this as a firm conclusion.

THUS *Winton*: and by these two writers, *For-*
dun and *Winton*, the most ancient, and indeed the only general historians the *Scots* have extant, before the tragedy of king *James III.* and who wrote independently one of another, as is plain by their works, as well as by all our ancient laws above-mentioned, we see what notion the *Scots* had of the right of monarchy, and on what footing it was among them, in the beginning of the fifteenth age.

(a) For he is, al. M S.

(b) *Winton's chronicle*, M S. biblioth. reg. *Lon.* f. 93. & *bibl. jurid.* *Edinb.* in the prologue of the sixth book.

UNTIL that time the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, the rights of our kings, and of the subjects, were maintained and preserved, on the part of the subjects by the singular respect and attachment that the *Scots* had for the ancient royal line of their kings, by their just administration, and by the grateful memory of so many of their royal predecessors, that had sacrificed themselves for preserving or recovering their liberty and independency; and on the king's part, by a tender regard that our ancient kings had for their subjects, which was chiefly grounded upon their uniform and hearty concurrence to support the crown, and their readiness to march, whenever called upon, and that on their own expences, under the royal banner, either to suppress all intestine commotions, or repulse all foreign invasions: of all which our true histories furnish abundance of examples in every age: so the bond, or knot, that united our ancient kings and people, till the long minorities that chiefly gave rise to the factions of the fifteenth age, was no other than a mutual confidence which they had one in another, they both being equally persuaded, that the interests of each were dear to the other: and this confidence made their happiness and mutual security, without any further ties than the usual oath of allegiance that the subjects took to their kings, and that of our ancient kings at their coronation, which in those times was very simple; but in its

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august simplicity included all that was necessary for the subjects security and happiness.

THIS is the account that our ancient historians give of it. At the coronation of each king, before he is blessed, or anointed, he takes an oath, containing three promises, in this form.

(a) *IN the name of Christ, I promise these three things to the christian people my subjects. 1°. That I shall give order, and employ my force and assistance, that the church of God, and the christian people, may enjoy true peace during our time, under our government. 2°. I shall prohibit and hinder all persons, of whatever degree, from violence and injustice. 3°. In all judgments I shall follow the prescriptions of justice and mercy, to the end that our clement and merciful God may shew mercy to me, and to you.*

AND this is all the account we have of the engagements that our ancient kings made to their subjects, and the only guarantee, or surety of the performance, was the king's own conscience, and

(a) *In christi nomine promitto hac tria populo christiano mihi subdito. Imprimis me præcepturum & opere pro viribus impensurum ut ecclesia Dei & populus Christianus veram pacem in nostro arbitrio, nostro tempore servet. 2°. ut rapacitates & omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam. 3°. in omnibus judiciis æquitatem & misericordiam extollam ut mihi & vobis indulgeat misericordiam suam clemens & misericors Deus. Scotichron, Pastet. in Bibl. reg. Lond. & Scotichron de Panmure, lib. 4. c. 6.*

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the hopes he had of the mercy of God. Thus our kings of the race of *Malcolm Keanmore*, and *St. Margaret*, lived with their people in the times we begin to have the surest and fullest accounts of our history; and whilst in our neighbourhood the contentions betwixt the kings and subjects were often carried to the greatest extremities, and new securities exacted of their kings by the name of *Magna Charta*; whereas in *Scotland*, as we read of no complaints made by the body of the subjects, in those ages, against their kings, for oppressing their just rights and liberties, so there was no occasion of seeking redress, and much less of exacting from our kings publick charters to secure them: accordingly, the name of *Magna Charta* was never heard of in *Scotland*, nor do we find, in all our ancient records, or history, that any thing like to it was ever exacted of any of our kings in ancient times. As to our kings taking the coronation oath before the ceremony of their unction, which some of the adversaries of the sovereignty of our ancient kings, have made a handle of, those writers, it seems, did not know or reflect, that the ceremony of unction of our kings, was not in use in *Scotland* till the time of *Robert I.* who obtained an express bull from pope *John XXII.* for that end; and accordingly his son, king *David II.* was anointed after the manner of other christian kings, and the ceremony performed according to the rites of the *Roman* pontifical, which being adapted to the unction of kings of all kinds, as well elective

as hereditary, 'tis no wonder that the coronation oath is placed in the order of the rite before the *actual unction*; but nothing can be alledged from that ceremony in favour of the notion of a mutual stipulation between our ancient kings and people, as if the failing on one side, did free the other: for what a famous writer (whose authority on this head is beyond all exception, and out of reach of suspicion) says, of the kings of *Scotland* in his time, is at least no less certain, in regard of all our ancient kings (a) *That the king hath his authority, how soon the breath of his father goes out; and acts with full regal power before he be crowned; so the coronation is only a solemn inauguration in that which is already his right.* And in effect, what this learned writer asserts in this place, is conformable to the *Scottish* history and records, by which it appears, that our kings (even after the introduction of the ceremony of the unction, made use of for the first time (b) at the coronation of king *David II.* A. D. 1329.) in their charters, and other publick acts, dated the years of their reign, from the death of their immediate predecessor, without regard to the time of their

(a) *Vindication of the authority of the constitution, &c.* by Gilbert Burnet, Professor of Theology in Glasgow, A. D. 1673. confer. 1. p. 153.

(b) Ante quem [*Davidem R. II.*] nullus regum *Scotia* legitur fuisse inunctum (sic) vel cum tali solemnitate coronatum (sic) *Fordun*, edit. *Hearne*, pag. 1018.

and

own coronation. We have a famous example of this in the reign of king *James I.* of *Scotland*, who, though he had been taken at Sea, and carried prisoner into *England*, being then a child of fourteen years of age, before the death of his father king *Robert III.* *A. D.* 1406, and was detained there about eighteen years, till *A. D.* 1424. that he came home to *Scotland* and was crowned; yet in all his charters, as well as in his parliaments, the years of his reign are dated from the death of the king his father, *A. D.* 1406.

AND even as to the coronation oath, such as I have set it down from the continuators of *Fordun* in the fifteenth age, it may be doubted whether it was in use before the introduction of the ceremony of the anointing, performed according to the rites of the *Roman* pontifical, where this coronation oath makes a part of the ceremonial, and is set down in equivalent terms with that which I have inserted above: for I have hitherto met with no account of it in what I have seen of our histories and records before that time; though the ceremony of the coronation of our kings, particularly that of king *Alexander III.* is recorded at large, with many minute circumstances in the continuation of (a) *Fordun*. And as to the *Scotichronicon's* inserting the form of the oath, which I have set down above in his relation of the reign of the

(a) *Fordun*, edit. *Hearne*, pag. 757, 758, 759, 760.

same king *Alexander III.* as the author treats there, of the duties of kings in general only; what he says of the coronation oath, may have relation only to the practice of his own time in the fifteenth century, when he wrote: but I refer this point of criticism to the judgment of those who may have more opportunity than I could have, to peruse and examine the large continuators of *Fordun*, and the records of *Scotland*. Mean-time, whether our ancient kings, before king *David II.* took or took not the forementioned oath at their coronation, is a pure matter of fact or curiosity; for besides that, their obligations to preserve all their subjects, of both the spiritual and temporal estates, in their just rights and privileges, were not the less binding before God, to whom alone they were answerable for their administration: the mutual confidence, as I have already observed, betwixt our ancient kings and their people, the paternal affection these kings had for them, and the interest they had to maintain peace and union in the kingdom for their own, as well as for their subjects security and happiness, were in those days no less powerful guarantees of our kings discharging the obligations and engagements annexed by Almighty God to their eminent station, as his Vicegerents, than all the ties, oaths, and acts that have been added in the latter ages, as any person, that will examine the true history of *Scotland*, may be easily convinced of.

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I have insisted on this digression, without any other design than to vindicate our country in general, and in particular our ancient nobility, from the accusation of barbarity, and want of due respect to their kings in ancient times, which our modern historians since the fifteenth century have, by their trusting to forged vouchers, (to say nothing here of some of their principles and particular views) given strangers occasion to load them with: whereas in reality it is quite the reverse, and will appear so to all that will impartially examine the remains that we have of true history, till the confusions of the kingdom, occasioned particularly by the many long minorities in that fifteenth age; there being, perhaps, no where to be met with in any kingdom whatsoever, a more intimate union betwixt king and people, a more constant adhesion of subjects to the royal line, nor greater respect payed to the sovereign by all, and particularly by the nobility, than in *Scotland* in ancient times, as it will appear to any that will take information from our only remaining historians before the fifteenth age, *Fordun* with his continuators, and *Winton*, and from our records.

By all this, as well as by what we have related of our ancient laws and histories, till the beginning of the fifteenth age, it is manifest that all the principles, and more yet, the exercise of the deposing

deposing power, in regard of the ancient kings of *Scotland*; in a word, the whole frame of *Boece's* history, or rather of the vouchers that he copied after, is new, unprecedent in all former reigns, before that of king *James III.* unknown to the *Scots* in preceding ages, and hatched on purpose to serve the turn of the ring-leaders of the rebellion against that prince, and to fortify the act which they made to screen themselves, from the punishment due by all our ancient laws to their crime.

WE are now to enquire into the different steps, by which the new notion of a power in the nobles or people, to limit or restrain that of the crown, was first introduced among the *Scots* in the fifteenth age, and which grew up by degrees afterwards to that height, as to produce all those dreadful convulsions that our posterior histories relate.

THE feeble reign of king *Robert III.* followed by the long captivity of king *James I.* gave the cause of great confusions in the kingdom. In these days, says a (a) writer of that time, there was no law observed in *Scotland*: the great and powerful oppressed the weak, crimes remained unpunished,

(a) *A. D.* 1402. In diebus illis non erat lex in *Scotia*: sed quilibet potentiorum juniorem oppressit & totum regnum fuit unum Latrocinium: homicidia, depredationes, incendia & cætera maleficia remanserunt impunita, & justitia relegata extra regni terminos exulavit. *Chartular. vet. Maravien. fol.* 62,

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and justice seemed to be banished out of the kingdom. In effect, it was chiefly then that some of the great men first began to act within their own lordships, as if they had had an independent authority, and as little kings; their power and great attendance screening them from the pursuit of justice, they assembled men in arms, and made war one against another.

IN this case king *James I.* found the kingdom at his return from *England*, A. D. 1424: and being a prince of resolution, and a severe justiciary, he endeavoured, by all means, to retrieve the rights of the crown, re-establish order and public safety by his good laws, and his steadiness and inexorable severity in the execution of them, and in punishing the transgressors, without respect of persons, of whatsoever quality, as we may see by his ordering, the very next year after his return home, duke *Murdoch* the late governor, to be arrested and imprisoned, with his sons, and the earls of *Lenox*, *March*, *Douglas* and *Angus*, and many others, all the most powerful men in the kingdom; and yet more in the execution of the same duke *Murdoch* and his sons, of the earl of *Lenox*, and of several others; and in the forfeiture of the most ancient and most powerful earl of *March*. And nothing can more effectually shew, how deeply the respect for the royal authority was as yet rooted in the hearts of the *Scots*, than this daring step of a king, who was newly

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returned from a captivity of eighteen years, and almost a stranger to his people, and who was lately entered upon the government.

THESE severe executions lay indeed very heavy on the minds of some of the great men accustomed to live, during some years, independent, and gave them a jealousy of the regal power, whereof most of them, by the long disuse of it, in the king's absence for so many years, had never as yet felt the weight, nor known the extent of its authority : but the king having, by these severities, re-established the publick tranquillity, and delivered his subjects from oppression, and all the executions being according to law, and upon a fair trial of their peers, he was applauded by the far greatest part of the nation, and gained so universally the hearts of his people, that the malecontents among the nobles were forced to stifle their resentments during the rest of the king's reign; but they broke out with greater violence during those of his son and grandson. Several other things happening during this reign, which augmented still more their fears and jealousies of the royal authority, and some that contributed to their exerting their resentments.

AMONG others, the (a) reassuming the crownlands, whereof many of the great men had got

(a) Jac. I. parl. I. c. 9.

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themselves possessed by the profuseness of the late governors, became a new occasion of discontent. The (a) forfeiture of the earl of *March*, however well intended to remove so powerful a man from the neighbourhood of *England*, proved of bad consequence in the following reigns. The earl of *March* was a rival to, and check upon the earl of *Douglas*; and this balance being taken off, the great power of the earl of *Douglas*, and of his family and followers, proved an unsupportable burden to the crown, and encouraged them to endeavour what had never been attempted before, that is, (according to the phrase of the times) to *bell the cat*, or, to make head against the king, and defy the government; especially being sure, in case of the worst, of a safe refuge and support from *England*.

ANOTHER occasion of the growth of the power of the nobles, to balance that of the crown, was the combining of several gentlemen one with another in *bonds of mutual defence*, called *bonds of Manred*, against any that should attack them. We have a famous example of this, during the reign of king *James II.* in the bond or league of the earls of *Douglas* and *Crawfurd*: and tho' this cost the first his life, and chiefly contributed to ruin that powerful family; and tho' it had been prohibited by severe acts of parliament (b) in king

(a) *Fac. I. parl. XII. c. 135.*

(b) *Parl. II. K. Jam. I. c. 30.*

James I.'s time, it continued in the following reigns, and became the source of the greatest convulsions of the kingdom.

BUT nothing contributed more to diminish the respect and awe of the majesty of our kings, and to enervate the regal authority, and so to lay the foundation of these convulsions of the government, than the long minorities, especially of the kings *James II.* and *III.* During those intervals, tho' the laws were enacted, and the royal authority exercised in the name of the king, yet the whole exercise of it was, by necessity, committed by the estates of the kingdom to some of the great men; who often envying one another, to fortify each his party by the king's person, tho' a child, stole him, as it were by turns, one from another, which did not a little contribute to diminish the respect due to his person, which till then, had always been esteemed by the *Scots* as sacred, of whatever age he was.

BESIDES that, the exercise of the regal authority being in these minorities but precarious, in whosoever's hands it was lodged, and their administration depending on the states and nobility, those that exercised it durst not oftentimes venture to exert it, for fear of disobliging or incurring the opposition of others able to dispossess them. Whence it happened, that some of the more powerful among the nobility lived in a kind of inde-

independency of the government and laws, without yielding any obedience, or even paying any respect to them; and being accustomed to this licentious way of living during the minorities, endeavoured to keep themselves in possession of it by force, even when the king came at age.

SUCH in particular were the earls of *Douglas*, who being powerful by their own followers, and yet more by their combining with other great men, arrived at that height of presumption, as to march with displayed banners at the head of a great army, composed of their rebellious adherents, against the king. In those turbulent times, the kings were often obliged to manage, with great caution, the rest of their nobility, to keep them firm in their duty; and for the same reason, to use condescensions to their parliaments, and allow them a larger share in the administration than was usual in the reigns of their ancestors. Some new and unusual expressions, which we meet with in the style of some of the parliaments of these times, have been abused by a late (a) writer, as if these expressions were to be looked upon as the standard of the *Scotish* constitution; not considering, that besides that most of these acts were made during minorities, and none of them but may be understood in a sense not derogatory to the right of monarchy, allowance being made to

(a) Historical account of the rights of *Scots* parliament, A. D. 1703.

the circumstances of those times, and the divisions and tumultuous state of affairs, occasioned by the fears and jealousies, industriously spread betwixt the kings and their subjects by seditious and designing men. All which passages have been thoroughly discussed by the late learned historian Dr. Pat. Abercromby, whose history, I mean chiefly the second volume of it, being generally better supported than any other by records and authentic documents, is the best written piece of our history that I know of.

IT was chiefly under the reign of king James III. that all these different seeds of fears and jealousies betwixt that king and a discontented party of his nobles, increased to the greatest height, and produced the most dismal effects, by the protection that *England* gave to the factious party, and by the divisions industriously sown by men of that party in the royal family; and by their infusing first into the duke of *Albany*, the king's brother, the poyson of their rebellion, and the base and ambitious design of usurping his brother's crown, (a) and holding it of the king of *England*: and afterwards, the same factious men seducing the king's own son the prince to head their party, they brought to the fields an army composed of the accomplices of their rebellion, and of their followers, against their sovereign, who,

(a) *Abercromby's* life of king James II. p. 443; 444, &c.

attended

attended only by a part of his army, having precipitated unwarily a battle, before the rest of his loyal subjects, who were on their march from the north to his aid, were arrived, was defeated by the rebels, and barbarously murdered in the pursuit.

AFTER which, that same factious party (a) observing that their young king began to repent of the crime in which they had engaged him, and that for penance, and as a sign of his repentance, he wore an iron chain; and fearing his resentment, to secure their lives and fortunes from the punishment due by all the ancient laws of the land, they obliged that young unexperienced prince, who was still in their hands, to call an assembly in a parliamentary form; and there being a great majority (the loyal party inferior in number, and seeing their prince, now their king, at the head of that assembly, not able, or not daring to oppose) made that unprecedented act, *A. D.* 1488. intituled, *The proposition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, to acquit themselves, and justify their rebellion: and as they knew how odious their crime was to all, both without and within the kingdom; without it, to all princes and states in amity with *Scotland*; such as the pope, who had excommunicated all that had a hand in it, to *France, Spain, Denmark*, and other realms: they therefore enacted, that the king's seal, and those of the three estates, should

(a) Pitfcotty history, pag. 96.

be apended to this act, in order to be shewn, as should seem expedient for the time, to all these different princes. So the act bears, and is set down by doctor (a) *Abercromby*, from the black acts in the life of king *James III.* to whom I shall refer my reader for all that concerns this tragedy; and shall only take notice, that this act, far from justifying the party with the rest of the world, abroad or at home, it did not so much as justify them in their own consciences; and far from thinking themselves *innocent, free, and quit* of the slaughter of king *James III.* &c. as they pretend in this act, they were so conscious to themselves of their guilt, that they had recourse to pope *Innocent VIII.* to obtain absolution of their crime, and from the censures of the church, which they had incurred by their rebellion; protesting, *That they were sorry, from the bottom of their hearts, for their rebellion, and desirous to do penance for it.* Upon which the pope empowered the abbots of *Pasly* and *Jedward*, and the chancellor of *Glasgow*, to give them absolution, as is more at length contained in the original bull in the advocates library at *Edinburgh*, dated 27 *Jan.* 1491. Within the kingdom, the horror of that crime was yet greater, and more universal and lasting; for notwithstanding the aforesaid act made to palliate it, the heavy murmurs and complaints of the people continued above three years afterwards, especially upon account that no enquiry had been made after the authors

(a) *Abercromb.* tom. II. p. 476, 477, &c.

of the slaughter of the king. For this reason the third parliament of king James IV. assembled at Edinburgh the 20th of February 1491, made at last an act, which begins thus: *Alfwa, be the command and advertisement of our sovereign lord the king, (a) it is avist and ordainit be the lordis of the articlis, (these are the proper words of the act) for the eschewing and cessing of the hevvy murmur and voice of the people of the dede (b) and slaughter of (c) unquibie, our sovereign Lordis father and progenitor, quhom God assolzis (d) king James III. That the persone or personis that put violent handis in his person and slew him, are noch punisht; the quhilk personis to be knawin and punisht after their demerits, our sovereign Lord is maist desirous; and for the knowledge thair of, quhat persone or personis were committaris of the said odious and cruel deid with their hands; it is now statute and ordainit in this present parliament, that, &c.* The act goes on, and promises a reward to those that shall make known those that were the murtherers of the late king with their hands; which affected expression is repeated no less than five different times in this act; whereas the ordinary tenor of such acts uses to include all that were *airt and pairt*, that is, *aiders* and *abettors* of any murtherer; or (as it is expressed in queen Mary's proclamation, 12 February, 1567. for the discovery of the murtherers of king Henry her husband) *the personis, dewisoris,*

(a) Records of the parliament of king James IV. fol. 155.
 (b) Death. (c) The late. (d) Absolve.

counsalors, or actual committars of the said mischievous and treasonable murder. But there being among those that sat in this parliament, *A. D.* 1492, and that devised this act, many of those that had been actually in arms in pursuit of their sovereign king *James III.* when he was killed, they were careful in wording of it, so as that it might not reach themselves, and therefore took care it should be expressed in this unusual tenor, and comprehend only those that had put violent hands in the king's person, or murdered him with their own hands.

BUT such an unnatural rebellion against one of the best (a) princes of his time, needed more than acts made by the authors of the wickedness, met together in a pack'd assembly in the form of a parliament, under a young prince, whom they had made, inasmuch as in them lay, a parricide, and who was still detained in the hands of those that had murdered his father; there needed more, I say, than an act passed in such an assembly, to justify to the world and to posterity, such an inhuman and unprecedent attempt. There remained yet for them to shew, that this act was conformable to the constitution of the kingdom, at least to produce some instance or precedent of coercive power, exercised by the nobles or states against any king of *Scotland* before king *James III.* for if they could have found any such

(a) See his life by Dr. *Abercromby*, in the second volume of the *Scottish* history.

instance

instance in the history of the *Scots*, they had infallibly alledged it in their act, to justify their attempt in the eye of all christendom, with the pope, and other princes, and states abroad, and with their fellow-subjects at home: and as in the very first occasion after the rebellion against king *James III.* and this act made to justify it; and after the publishing *Boece's* history, with all the tragical examples of deposing power, which he relates on the credit of his forged vouchers, as in the very first occasion, I say, after all this, that the *Scots* took arms against their sovereign queen *Mary*, they failed not to alledge to the ambassadors of queen *Elizabeth*, and of other foreign princes, for the justification of their action, the practice of their predecessors against her majesty's ancestors, and many precedents of former times, meaning those contained in *Boece's* vouchers, and the late one of king *James III.* So also that party of the *Scottish* nobility, who had taken arms against king *James III.* and were masters of the young king's person, and of the parliament they had obliged him to convocate, in order to acquit themselves, and to prosecute those that had kept their allegiance to the late king, had not failed to have alledged some such precedent in former times, had there been any such: and their not doing it at a juncture in which they were so hard put to it to justify their proceedings in their famous act, is a plain proof that no such precedent was to be found in those days, and by consequence, that none

of those precedents, set down by *Boece* on the faith of his *Veremund*, and other pretended vouchers, or any other of the like nature, had ever been as yet heard of: and this fact confirms beyond reply the truth of the third argument, which I brought against *Boece's* history of the forty kings; and that his vouchers were not forged till after the death of king *James III*, and after this act, *Of the proposition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, since it proves, that all the principles and precedents of the deposing power, contained in these vouchers, were all new, and posterior to that time.

Now the lives and fortunes of that part of the nobility who had pursued to death the late king, depending on the stability of this their act; and this act being in itself very precarious, and liable to be reversed, if a change at court should fall out, and that the young king should happen to put himself into the hands of those that had given proof of their loyalty and attachment to the crown, by their firm adhesion to the late king his father; and that he came to open daily more his eyes upon the guilt of the parricide, in which the authors of this act had engaged him, and so might, for reparation, execute upon them the laws against rebellion, as he had begun to punish himself for it. Affairs being in this state, and all the security of the adverse party to the late king depending on the stability of their new act, and nothing being more necessary to fortify, propagate, and diminish the horror

horror that posterity might conceive of their attempt, than precedents of such like attempts in former ages; and none such being extant at that time in all the *Scottish* histories, it was of the last importance to the party, and very natural for some of their adherents to invent histories fit for the purpose; to give them names, and an air of antiquity, and carefully hide them till a proper season in some corner, so as they might easily be found out in due time, by those, who, being themselves ignorant of the artifice, as well as incapable of judging of ancient pieces, they were sure would not fail to proclaim their new discoveries every where, as curious and valuable pieces of ancient history of the *Scots*, which had escaped the destruction made of them by king *Edward I.* of *England*, and so it happened.

THESE are indeed but conjectures: but when all that hath been already said at length of the nature and contents of *Veremund* and these other pretended ancient pieces of the *Scottish* history, the circumstances of time, and the want, in which the authors of the enterprize against king *James III.* were of precedents. When all this is impartially consider'd, and that within a few years after this unprecedented act, at least as soon as a proper season; such as the confusions of a new minority was found, and a fit tool; that is, the most eloquent, and perhaps the most credulous of the *Scottish* writers, to say nothing

nothing of his principles concerning government: When, I say, one meets with a whole new series of history, detailed into particulars never heard of before, wholly built upon new principles of government, inconsistent with all the former histories, and laws of the *Scotish* nation, exemplified in a great number of facts and instances of a power exercised by the *Scotish* nobles over their kings in ancient times: and this history hurried out in unusual haste, and producing nothing for its vouchers in the most incredible narrations, but authors wholly unknown till then, appearing on a sudden from dark and remote corners, and suddenly disappearing again, and these absolutely inconsistent with all other antient histories, foreign and domestick; but especially when one finds, that the first appearance of these pretended vouchers happened precisely at, or about the times in which the factious party stood so much in need of precedents from ancient times of kings called to account by their subjects: what can be rationally thought of the whole, but that one of the chief views of the first authors of this contrivance, was to justify the late tragedy of king *James III.* and the act made to support it; to raise the power of the nobility or states, and depress the majesty of kings, and to set up a tribunal on earth for him, who, by all former laws and histories, was answerable for his administration to God alone: and that all the ancient succession of kings in the *Scotish* line, before *Fergus II.* and all those glorious pretended
achieve-

atchievements that accompany this new scheme of history, were only designed to flatter the nation into a belief of it, and to make it go better down with the king and people.

So that whoever will impartially consider the new principles and scheme of government contained in *Boece's* history, with the many instances it furnishes of the kings of *Scotland* called to an account, and punished by their subjects for pretended male-administration: and compare that history with all the *Scottish* histories or chronicles written before the reign of king *James III.* (in none of which will be found so much as one instance of any such popular power, either exercised, or even claimed by the *Scots* over their sovereigns) will be forced to add to all the proofs we have already given of the forgery of *Boece's* vouchers, this new one; and naturally conclude, that all these pretended writers, on whose authority *Boece* built his history of the forty kings, are late inventions, posterior to the death of king *James III.* designed only to serve a turn, and so be convinced by a new proof, not only of the forgery of *Veremund* and his other vouchers; but of their being composed a little before *Boece's* own time, upon occasion of the rebellion against king *James III.* and the art made to justify it.

WHO the first authors of this forgery were, is not, especially at this distance of time, to be guessed

sed at; and to be sure, be who they will, they took care to have this work of darkness so warily carried on as not to be discovered. But it cannot be doubted, but that the first contrivers have been some of these concerned in the factions against the government in these days, or dependents on them; who, like *Annius of Viterbe*, another famous impostor, who lived at the same time, have, in all appearance, first forged upon *John Fordun's* chronicle, new histories of *Scotland* under the names of *Veremund*, *John Campbel*, &c. and then conveyed them so cunningly to the place where they were found, and supposed to have been long preserved, that both the noblemen who sent them, and *Boece*, who made use of them as copies of genuine records, were equally imposed upon.

BUT be this as it will, it is but too evident by the writers about that time, that partly by the power the states or nobles had assumed, on occasion of the long minority of king *James II, III, and V*, and for the other reasons mentioned before, but especially on occasion of this act, to justify the rebellion against king *James III*. partly by the many bad examples which our neighbours of *England* had given in their wars against king *John*, and king *Henry III*. in their conduct towards their kings, *Edward II*. and *Richard II*. as well as in the whole course of the contest betwixt the houses of *Lancaster* and *York*: by all these occasions, I say, the respect for the persons and dignity of our kings was

was so generally diminished among the Scots towards the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth age, the spirit of rebellion and sedition raised to such a pitch, and the opinion of the power of the states and nobles (in itself so popular) had gained so much ground, that even very well-meaning men, and otherwise learned, were imbued with it.

SUCH were the notions of (a) *John Major*, as appears by his scholastick reasonings, on the right of king *Robert Bruce* to the crown, in his history, published some four or five years before that of *Boece*; such were also those of *Hector Boece* himself; who, though the account he gave to the publick how he came by his vouchers, screens him in a great measure from being suspected to have contrived them himself, yet he had never so confidently delivered the principles and facts he relates against the sovereignty of the kings of *Scotland* in ancient times, had he not been already in some measure tainted with them, as we have already observed.

AND thus far, as to *Hector Boece* and his history of the first forty kings. It remains now to examine that of *Buchanan*, after I have first given an account of the histories of the first forty kings, as they are set down by Bishop *Lesly* and *David Chambers*, who, in order of time, were the first

(a) *Joan. Maj. fol. 78.*

that wrote the history of *Scotland* after *Boece*, and some years before *Buchanan*; and all of them wrote on *Boece*'s plan, and copied from him.

ART. III. Of John Lesly bishop of Ross, and his history of Scotland.

JOHN LESLY bred at *Aberdeen*, finished his studies in the university of *Paris*, where having taken the degree of licentiate of the laws, he was chosen one of the procurators, *A. D.* 1553, and after having passed doctor of the laws returned home, and was made official of *Aberdeen* *A. D.* 1560. He was one of those that came to *Edinburgh* from that university, to defend the ancient religion against the new reformers, and in the year following was sent over to *France* by a party of the nobility, to invite queen *Mary* home. *A. D.* 1566. he was chosen one of the lords of the session, and of the privy-council by the queen, and named by her majesty to the bishoprick of *Ross*. *A. D.* 1568. he was one of the chief of the commissioners for the queen, in the conferences held at *York* and *London* against *Murray* and his party; and continued afterwards her majesty's ambassador at the *English* court four or five years, the two last of which he was kept prisoner by queen *Elizabeth*, and at last got leave to go to *France*, where he arrived in *January* 1574. He went afterwards first to *Germany*, then to *Rome*, to promote the queen his sovereign's cause, and solicit at the Imperial

rial court the restitution of the *Scotish* monasteries. He was consecrated bishop at *Rome*, and publish'd his history of *Scotland*, dedicated to pope *Gregory XIII.* who was at the expence of printing it, and of the cuts of the king's genealogies, and of the map of *Scotland*; it was published in the beginning of the year 1578. From *Rome* he returned back to *Germany*, continuing his negotiations for his sovereign and his country; and obtained that same year, 1578. an edict of the emperor *Rodolph*, for re-establishing the *Scotish* monasteries. From thence he came back to *France*, where he was for some years suffragan to the archbishop of *Rouen*, till queen *Mary's* death, after which he went into *Flanders*. He died at *Brussels*, A. D. 1596.

As to his history of *Scotland*, having been (as we have seen) all along, till the time that he published it, continually in publick business, negotiations or voyages, he had very little leisure to compose a history, except during the last two years he was in *England* in prison. And in effect (a) he informs us himself, that it was during that imprisonment that he compiled it in a rude draught, and polished it afterwards, during the abode he made at *Rome*, which could not be long, since he

(a) *Scotorum historiam, quam in carcere rudiore informaram, indeque tanquam naufragii tabulam in Italiam importaram; texendam seu potius a principio denuo retexendam qua potui diligentia curavi. Epist. dedic. ad Greg. P. XIII. pag. 7.*

calls it some months (*his (a) mensibus*). So that the circumstances in which he wrote, would alone engage us not to look upon it as a work of much time and discussion, nor take strictly, in the literal sense, what he says in his preface to his countrymen, of his consulting upon his history, and comparing it with the (*b*) annals kept in the royal archives of *Scotland*, with the books of *Paßlay*, *Scoon*, and other monastery books; which those that have seen what remain of these books, and have examined bishop *Lesly's* history, may be apt to take it for a bare flourish of rhetoric, in order to grace his performance with strangers: but I would rather interpret his expression, as meaning only that he had formerly seen, before his leaving *Scotland*, some of these monuments of history, as a curious man is apt to do; but that after many years spent in publick negotiations and troubles, he had no distinct memory of them in particular, else to be sure he had never mentioned them as a standard of his history, unless he means that he had seen them at second-hand, that is, in the only original he had to follow in foreign countries, or under confinement, and which it is evident he followed *verbatim*, to wit, the history of *Boece*, whom he, no doubt, supposed had perused them.

(a) *Fœtum hunc non tam meum Scoticumve, quam Romanam etsi a nobis antea conceptus Romæ tamen his mensibus maximè editus adolevit*) &c. *Epist. dedic. ad Card. Sermonetam Scotia protector. pag. 3.*

(b) *Parænes, ad nobil. & pop. Scot. p. 14.*

AND

AND to prove that bishop *Lesly's* history, especially that part of it which relates to the first forty kings, contained in his first three books, which is all of it in which I am at present concerned, was not founded upon the chronicles of *Scoon*, *Pasly*, or our monastery books: there needs no more but to remember, what we have already often observed, that those chronicles, and all our monastery books that have yet appeared, are really meer copies of *Fordun*, as to the story of the forty, or forty-five kings before *Fergus* the son of *Erch*, called *Fergus II.* and indeed as to all the *Scotish* history, till king *David I's* death: and then compare *Lesly's* history of the first forty kings on the one hand, with *Fordun's* accounts of them, and on the other, with those of *Boece*; and it will plainly appear, that bishop *Lesly's* is a bare abridgment of *Boece*, even in the most incredible stories, and differs no less than *Boece* does from *Fordun's* accounts of these first kings, and by consequence, from all our ancient monastery books.

AND indeed that is all that could be expected in those days from one in bishop *Lesly's* circumstances, who having no leisure from his constant employments at home, and no opportunity in his prisons, voyages, and negotiations abroad, to compile a new history, from what remains there were of our ancient monastery books; and finding also *Boece's* history generally received in those days as
 I the

the standard of our history; but that the prolixity of it made it tedious to the readers (*a*), he thought the best service he could do to his country was to abridge it, by retrenching what seemed superfluous, retaining still the same body of history, and all that seemed substantial in it: but I conceive it may be presumed of a person of bishop *Lesly's* character, loyalty, and good sense, that if his affairs and circumstances had allowed him the leisure and conveniency of examining *Boece's* history, upon what remained of *Fordun* and his continuators; and upon the accounts that the *Roman* and ancient *British* writers give of the northern parts of *Britain*, he would have made great alterations in *Boece's* history of the first forty kings, both as to the facts related, and as to the principles of government it is built upon. What is then truly valuable in bishop *Lesly's* history, is that part of it which is properly his own, where he is guided by his own lights, and not by those of *Boece*, especially the accounts which he gives of transactions in *Scotland*, from the death of king *James V*, till queen *Mary's* return to *Scotland*, A. D. 1561. And as to his true principles on monarchical government, and on the independency of sovereigns of all, except God alone; the curious may find

(*a*) Multi & exteri & nostri mihi fuerunt authores— ut antea ætatis historiam quam Joan. Major verâ sed non satis ornata & *Hæst. Boetius* ornata, sed non satis pressa oratione (ut nonnulli quærantur) explicarat, arctius comprimerem, *Lesly. varanif. ad Scot. pag. 14. edit. Rom.*

them proved from scripture in a (a) writing he gave in to queen *Elizabeth*, the 4th of *March*, 1571.

ART IV. *Of David Chambers of Ormond, his abridgement of the Scottish history, and citations from Veremund.*

DAVID CHAMBERS of Ormond, was one of the lords of the session in queen *Mary's* time; and being afterwards banished his country, came to *Paris* about the year 1571. He wrote an abridgement of the history of the popes, emperors, kings of *France* and *Scotland*, which he dedicated first to king *Charles IX.* *A. D.* 1572. and afterwards, with new additions, to king *Henry III.* *A. D.* 1579. It is of this last edition that I made use. His history of *Scotland*, which was his chief view, is a bare abridgment of that of *Hector Boece*, even in the most unaccountable stories of the first forty kings.

WHAT is particular in *Chambers* is, that he tells us, that he himself, as well as *Boece*, had seen the famous *Veremund* and *Boece's* other vouchers. At first one would be apt to believe that he had seen them only, as no doubt the *English* historian *Baker* (who sets them down among his vouchers) saw them at second-hand, and only in *Boece*. But

(a) Cotton library, Caligula, c. 1. fol. 51.

Chambers (a) quoting in particular *Veremund's* own words, from his epistle dedicatory to *Malcolm Keanmore*; and in another place (b) the second book of *Veremund's* history, (which are particulars that *Boece* does not make mention of) these citations, I say, seem to put it out of doubt. 1°. That there was really extant a compilation of *Scotish* history in the beginning of the sixteenth age, that bore the name of *Veremund*, which *Boece* and *David Chambers* both must have seen and perused. 2°. That what the (c) learned *Gordon* of *Straloch* heard of *Boece's* destroying *Veremund*, with other vouchers of his history, must be a mistake.

BUT let this be as it will, these two particular citations of *Chambers* from *Veremund*, do both serve for a farther conviction, that this pretended *Veremund's* history was a fabulous invention of latter ages. The first passage contains a copy of the first *French* and *Scotish* league, betwixt *Charlemagne* and king *Achajus*, A. D. 792. And of this league *Chambers* pretends to give us from his *Veremund* the articles in their proper (d) terms bearing a mutual obligation on both nations to assist one

(a) Hist. de D. Chambres, fol. 228.

(b) Fol. 95.

(c) Nicolson. Scot. hist. library, p. 75.

(d) La teneur de l'alliance perpetuelle amitié, &c. L'injure des Anglois, ou force de leurs armes levées contre l'un desdits François ou Escossois, sera commune & repoussée par tous les deux. Les François étant persécutés de guerre par les Anglois

another against the *English*, who this league supposes had then wars with the *French*, as ordinarily as in the fifteenth age.

Now in the first place (tho' there are proofs that *Charlemagne* entertained friendship with the king of *Scots*, as he did with other neighbouring *Princes*) yet 'tis certain on the one hand, that the *Heptarchy* subsisting yet in *England*, their own divisions left no room for their annoying *France*, especially under such a powerful prince as *Charlemagne*; nor do we find that ever they attempted it, till they had a settled interest to maintain in *France* after the *Norman* conquest: So there was not the least occasion for the *Scots* going to the *French* assistance, when attacked by the *English*: and even *Chambers* himself is forced to own in other places, that there was no need of this mutual succour, till about three or four hundred years after this: and so it is evident, that the true *Veremund* (if ever there was such a man) living under king *Malcolm III.* and writing (as we are told) *A. D.* 1076, could never have advanced, that the kings of *France* and *Scotland* had made in the year 792, about three hundred years before, a league offensive and defensive against the *English*, since he could not be ignorant that it was scarce full ten

glois, le Roy d'Escoffe luy fournira de soldats aux depens du Roy de France. Les Escoffois etant provoquez par les Anglois seront aidez & secourus par les François a leurs fraix & depens, &c. *D. Chamb. fol.* 95, 96. from *Veremund*.

Qq

years,

years, since the *English* having acquired, by *William* the conqueror, possessions in *France*, began (for the first time) to have occasion of war with the *French*; but a writer of the fifteenth or sixteenth age personating *Veremund*, was not obliged to know so much.

ON the other hand, the *Scots* in those early times were in no posture to assist *France*, much less to send over to it 4000 men, as *Chambers* tells us, that king *Achajus* sent them under his brother *Willerm* (a way of spelling the name *Willelmus* or *William*, never in use till the fifteenth century) or *Gilmer*, as others call him: for this was in the end of the eighth age, when the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain* was as yet confined to the western coasts of *Albany*, the whole eastern coast, from the utmost bounds of the north to *Northumberland*, being still under the dominion of the (a) *Picts*, whose monarchy subsisted in their own name about forty years after this: so the *Scots* could have no correspondence with *France*, nor send them forces, but what must have passed through the *Pictish* or *Saxon* territories.

IN the second place, these articles of the league which *Chambers* says he had from *Veremund*, confirm what is proved elsewhere (b), that the compilation of *Scotish* history, attributed to *Veremund*,

(a) *Supra*, pag. 79, 80, &c.

(b) *Supra*, pag. 245, &c.

was the work of an author of the fifteenth age, or thereabout; for the terms in which *Chambers* cites from his *Veremund* the articles of this league, are the very same in substance, and almost the formal expressions that we find in the copies of the leagues betwixt the *French* and *Scots* in the fourteenth and fifteenth age, and visibly borrowed from them.

As to the real league itself betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, there is no doubt but it was one of the most ancient in *Europe*, observed for many ages without any interruption, and with the greatest fidelity by both nations: and we have to this day a continued series, or tract of these leagues renewed in every reign, till the union of the *Scotish* and *English* crowns, from the reign of *Robert the Bruce*, in whose alliance with *Charles le Bel*, 'tis said to have subsisted a long time (a) before: and as to the beginning of it in *Charlemagne's* time, before *Hector Boece* and *Chambers*, it is indeed mentioned by (b) *Fordun*, and by all our monastery books, that continued him down; but they mention it only in general as a tradition (*ut traditur*) and they alledge, that the occasion of it was only that the *English* or *Saxons* exercised piracy some-

(a) *Lamitie & bien-voillance qad esté de longe temps entre nos predeceffours roys de France, & nostre royaume & les roys & ledit royaume d'Escoffe encontre le roy d'Angleterre. Confederacion entre les roys Charles le Bel & Robert de Brus, en 1326.*

(b) *Fordun, lib. 3. cap. 47.*

times on the coast of *France*, which surely required no need of sending forces from *Scotland* to *France*, as the articles of the league that *Chambers* relates from *Veremund* expressly bear: nor is there indeed any word of the articles at all, or of *Veremund* himself, to be met with in *Fordun*, or any of his continuators: and no wonder; for neither these particulars, nor the *Veremund* from which they are taken, were as yet invented.

As to the second passage related by (a) *Chambers*, as taken *verbatim* from his *Veremund*, the simple reading of it may suffice to convince any man skilled in the accounts of the ancient state of the *North of Britain*; that the author of that compilation under *Veremund's* name, was one of the most arrant forgers that ever wrote. Here is the passage itself translated from *Chambers's* own account. *Veremund* a *Spaniard*, in the epistle dedicatory of his book of the histories of *Scotland* (which he dedicated to *Malcolm III.* the eighty-sixth king, in the year 1076, writes in the following words. *Although*, says *Veremund*, *there be many things contained in the said histories (of Scotland) which perhaps might seem to the readers somewhat difficult to be believed, since they are not wholly confirmed or attested by foreign historians: yet, says he, when they shall have considered that the Scots are situated in the northern parts of the island of Albion, and by*

(a) *Chambers*, fol. 228, 229.

consequence very rarely frequented by strangers, which might give them occasion to write their actions; and when they shall have also heard that the Scots were not less happy, having almost always had, before the times of christianity, the Druids, a religious people, for diligent chroniclers; and always, (since they received christianity) religious men, faithful historiographers, since they had the Isles of Man and Ycolmkill, impregnable places, where they preserved securely their monuments and antiquities, without giving any copies of them, or even letting them be seen by strangers. All this considered, says he, they will cease to wonder. (that foreign writers say little or nothing of the *Scotish* antiquities.) Thus *Veremund*.

THIS indeed is an invention worthy of such an author, which, if it were admitted of, would alone suffice to screen from censure or criticism, all the cheats or forgers of old writings that ever were or may be. But to let the story of the *Scotish* chronicles pass, which are pretended to have been written in the times of *Paganism*, by these religious *Druids*, (tho' not one of the many authors that have given full accounts of them, and of their manners, ever reckoned writing of history among their institutions) one may evidently see in this passage, that this author who assumed the name of *Veremund*, wrote with a formed design to impose on his credulous readers; and at the same time with the precaution of a man, who, conscious to himself of forgery, foresaw his writings

things would be suspected, as containing matters wholly new, and never heard of in the world before: to prevent therefore this so obvious a suspicion, he is careful to inform us, that these *Druids*, and after them the monks of *Icolmkill*, guardians of those ancient annals of the *Scots*, made a great secret of them, and did not communicate them, or so much as let them be seen by any stranger. So no wonder if the ancient *Roman* or *British* writers make not the least mention of the noble feats they contained.

BUT not to ask this author many obvious questions, as what became of these annals, and how they were preserved when *Icolmkill* was frequently burnt, and the abbots and monks slain in the ninth and tenth age, by the *Danes*, passing to and from *Ireland*? and supposing, for a moment, that the *Scots* had been in old times endued with that surprizing modesty and self-denial without example in all other countries, as to hide and conceal, from all the rest of the world, down to *Veremund's* and *Boece's* time, all that ancient glorious succession of kings, and those martial achievements performed in the highest antiquity, as *Boece* and *Chambers* pretend to have copied from *Veremund*: and allowing also, that the then ancient annals of the *Scots* might have been kept in the dark during the first three or four hundred years of the *Scotish* monarchy before the *Romans* entred *Britain*, and before they had any intercourse

course with the northern *Britains*, (in which case indeed we are not to expect any accounts of the *Scots* in those early times, from the *Roman* or *British* writers.) Was it equally in the power of these keepers of the archives of *Tolmkill* to conceal the *Scotish* achievements against the *Romans*, since the coming in of the *Romans* to *Britain*, if it be true that the *Scots* had frequent battles and treatises with them, even from *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus's* time, and made such a figure in *Britain* as *Boece* and *Chambers* have it from *Veremund*, and that for more than three hundred years down till the middle of the fourth age? To pass over the contradiction of the *Scots* making so long such a figure, and not being taken notice of; was it, I say, in their annalist's power to keep the *Scots* all these ages so unseen and unheard of, that not one of all the ancient *Roman* writers before *Ammian Marcellin*, such as *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Herodian*, and others, who give us details of the transactions or wars betwixt the *Romans* and the inhabitants of *North Britain*, should ever have once mentioned the *Scots*? Nor any of the ancient geographers *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, or *Solinus*, in their descriptions of the northern as well as southern *Britains*, should so much as once have named them?

AT this rate it would seem that the whole race of ancient *Scotish* kings, the whole people, the kingdom itself, and their actions in peace and war, must have been as carefully kept secret during six

or

or seven hundred years by these trusty guardians of the archives of *Ycolmkill*, as the annals themselves: or rather, who does not see that this invention of unknown and unseen annals and histories for so many ages, is all a contradiction, and an ill-contrived artifice to screen the forgery of *Veremund*.

ALL I shall say to conclude is, that it is a great advantage to truth, that the most part of the forgers of pretended old writings were, by the permission of providence, generally so extremely ignorant, and frequently of so little sense and judgment, that even almost in every passage of their inventions, one may discover anachronisms, contradictions, and other marks of their forgery.

AND this is all that needs be said of *David Chambers's* history of the first forty *Scottish* kings, which being but an abridgment of that of *Boece*, and built on the same authorities, must stand or fall with it.

BUT this does not hinder *David Chambers's* abridgment, it being otherwise useful to history in more modern times; nor his being himself a person of merit, both for his rank in the state his travels and sufferings in the service of queen *Mary* his lawful sovereign.

ART. V.

ART. V. Of George Buchanan's account of the first forty kings of the Scots in Britain.

§. I. *The introduction to Buchanan's history. The progress of the doctrine of the deposing power in Scotland.*

BEFORE I enter upon the particular discussion of *Buchanan's* history, it is necessary, by way of introduction to it, to continue down the account of the progress and farther steps that the notions of a power lodged in the subjects, to judge and depose their sovereigns, made in *Scotland*, in the interval betwixt the time of the publishing the history of *Boece*, A.D. 1526, and that of *Buchanan*, A.D. 1582.

THE long and tumultuous minority of king *James V.* who was only one year and five months old when he came to the crown, contributed not a little to fortify and spread the notion of the power of the nobility in the administration of the government, which, during near twenty years, was in their hands, excepting the short interval of the regency of the duke of *Albany*: so that king *James*, a prince of a high spirit, as soon as he came at age, thought himself obliged to use all his endeavours to recover the prerogative, and by consequence to restrain the over-growing power of the nobility. Thus we see that in his first parlia-

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ment (a) after his majority, the ancient style of the acts of parliament which had been long out of use, is resumed, and they generally run thus; *Our sovereign lord ordains, &c.* or, *Our sovereign lord, with advice and consent of the prelates, barons, &c. ordains, &c.* And as to the nobility, 'tis thought by some that king *James V.* carried his resentments and resolution to humble them too far, or at least that he went too fast on in that design, and did not act with such caution as the temper of the people with whom he had to do did require. So he died in the struggle.

By his death the crown falling again into a minority, and that of a woman, and the divisions of the state, occasioned by the emissaries and pensioners of *England*, and by the new opinions about religion, running higher than ever, the popular power made a new progress: and to confirm the matter, the levelling doctrines introduced by the first *Scottish* reformers, trained up all of them in the republican *Geneva* principles, infected not only the nobility but the commons: so that whereas hitherto all the commotions that had happened in the kingdom, and the revolts against the sovereign, had been the effect of the factions of the nobility alone, without the commons having ever had any other share in rebellion, than by blindly following the great men on whom they depended:

(a) 4 Parl. Jac. V. an. 1535.

it is very remarkable, that from the time the Scots drank the cup of the levelling Geneva doctrine, and never till then, the commons began to draw into factions by themselves, convocated by the ministers, and having them, or some of their zealots among the nobility incited by them, at their head; and the commons being once persuaded by these new doctors, that monarchy had its first origine from the peoples election of kings, and that all kings and magistrates were originally the peoples creatures, they doubted not but they had still an equal power to depose or reform them, as at first to create them.

IT is no less remarkable, that till the times of this reformation, all rebellions in Scotland had proceeded from the private discontents and factions of some of the nobility, grown too powerful for the crown, or combining together by associations against it; and that in all the history of Scotland, till the reformers came in, it was never heard of, that either the pretence of religion, or the ancient clergy, had ever any share in rebellions, much less were the churchmen the trumpeters of it, but that on the contrary, they always used all their endeavours (witness the conduct of the bishops Kenedy and Elphinston) to pacify commotions, and to compose any differences that happened betwixt the sovereign and the subjects; and when factions grew too high to be quelled by their mediation, the churches revenues were always at the king's dis-

posal, to enable him to suppress rebellion by the authority given him by God. But from the time that the *Scotish* reformation set up, rebellion put on, for the first time, the mask of religion, and had some of the first *Scotish* reformers for the incendiaries of it, and their false glosses and interpretations of the holy scripture the incentives; and so it became more common, and more successful than ever before.

IT was then mainly under the cloak of religion and reformation, that this spirit of revolt against the higher powers was first industriously infused and deeply rooted in the hearts of many of the *Scotish* commons and nobility, by the vehement invectives of *John Knox*, and others of the first doctors of the reformation, against the then governing powers, chiefly for these reasons; that they remained firm and constant in the ancient religion, and would not repeal the laws and acts made in the time of their ancestors to support it: upon that ground it was that those new doctors went about persuading the people, by wrested texts of scripture, that when the supreme magistrate or sovereign refused or demurred to suppress the religion established by law, (which they called idolatry) or continued to countenance it, in that case, the nobles or commons were obliged either to compel their sovereign to abolish it, or take arms and do it themselves, whether their sovereign would or not. This is the purport of

two of the first blasts of the famous *John Knox's* trumpet of rebellion, to wit, of his appellation to the nobility, *A. D.* 1555; and admonition to the commonalty of *Scotland*, *A. D.* 1558; which are printed both at length at the end of the edition of his history in folio, and in quarto.

IN consequence of this doctrine, during the regency of the queen, who was mother to queen *Mary*, several nobles and commons, stirred up by the violent declamations of these reformers, combined together, by oaths and leagues of mutual defence, under the title of the *Congregation*, and resolved to carry on the alteration of religion by open violence, in case that the queen regent should refuse to yield to their demands, and abolish the old religion, and give way to their innovations: accordingly, upon the queen regent's opposing their new doctrine, they first took up arms against her, and having entred into league against the government with *England*, they obtained men and money from queen *Elizabeth*, for carrying on the rebellion; and not contented with that, they proceeded to depose the queen, mother to their sovereign, from the regency.

WHAT is very remarkable in their proceedings to depose the queen regent, or, as they called it, to suspend her from the exercise of the regency, is first, that notwithstanding the progress that the antimonarchical principles had made, especially by the

the seditious preachings and writings of *Knox*, and others of the first reformers, and tho' they were actually in arms against the government; yet the depriving the queen of the regency, committed to her by the queen her daughter, their sovereign, and confirmed by act of parliament; the depriving her without authority of one or other, was a thing so new, and so unprecedented in all former history, that the lords of the congregation themselves demurred upon the point; and before they would venture to go on with it, thought it necessary to consult the two leading ministers of the congregation, *Knox* and *Willocks*, who were looked upon by them as oracles; and who both of them unanimously gave their judgment for the lawfulness of that proceeding: upon which decision the lords of the congregation, who by all the laws then in being, had no other character but that of private subjects, and those rebels too, took upon them to deprive the queen, mother to their sovereign, of the administration of the government.

ANOTHER thing remarkable in their depriving the queen regent, is the authority by which they profess to do it, to wit, *in the (a) name, and by the authority* (as their act bears) *of their sovereign lord [Francis, king of France, and of Scotland] and of their sovereign lady [queen Mary, daughter to the queen regent.]* That is, in plain terms, they

(a) *Knox. hist. p. 195.*

make use of the name and authority of the king and queen, to deprive the queen regent from acting by their authority, and endeavouring to execute their majesties express orders towards maintaining the ancient standing religion, and opposing the new reformation towards suppressing open rebellion against their authority; and for her withstanding their destroying and ruining all the glorious monuments of the piety of the ancient kings and nobility of *Scotland*, all over the kingdom, without sparing even the ashes and sepulchres of their royal predecessors; and especially for her making use of the auxiliaries sent from *France* by their majesties themselves to her aid against the rebels, to execute those their commissions. These were the crimes for which the oracles of the *Scottish* reformation judged the queen regent worthy to be deprived of her authority, and for which the lords of the congregation made use of the name and authority of the king and queen to deprive her: and this is the first time I find the name and authority of the king made use of, to deprive or oppose those acting by his commission.

ARCHBISHOP *Spotswood*, with good reason, condemns this bold decision of *Knox* and *Willocks* (a), and their abusing the holy scripture to countenance it: and no wonder, for he lived to see the dismal effects of this doctrine by men of the

(a) *Spotswood*, p. 136.

same principles, carrying on a rebellion against a protestant king [*Charles I.*] and deposing and banishing the protestant bishops, and himself at the head of them, and that too on the same principles, with an equal shew of scripture texts interpreted by themselves.

BUT to proceed ; the lords of the congregation having obtained considerable forces by sea and land, with money to pay their own troops from *England* : and the queen regent being dead, chiefly of grief in the castle of *Edinburgh*, they got the better of the loyal party ; and a treatise (a) ensued at *Leith*, which was favourable to the reformers, by the influence of queen *Elizabeth*, and of *Montluc*, the *French* ambassador in *Scotland*, whom all the world knows was then, tho' a bishop, but a very lewd one, a great favourer of the reformers. However this treatise was never (b) ratified by queen *Mary*. Soon after, in *August*, 1560. the kingdom being now in confusion, a tumultuous assembly, chiefly composed of the favourers of the new religion met at *Edinburgh* : and though they had no commission nor authority from king or queen, the articles of the treatise at *Leith* not being ratified, they called themselves a parliament, and took upon them an authority and jurisdiction superior to all our parliaments that ever were, by rescinding at once, all the laws and acts that had been

(a) Knox, p. 251, 252.

(b) Spotswood.

made in *Scotland* in favour of the religion established by all our ancient parliaments, since these assemblies were in being, and by all our ancient kings, since christianity was first planted in *Scotland*.

BUT the zeal of the first reformers did not stop at the overturning religion, but struck directly at the right of monarchy, and at the person of the sovereign, by putting in execution this new maxim of state, which became the chief foundation of the reformation in *Scotland*: *That when the king or sovereign was an idolater, a murtherer, &c.* (of which they sustained themselves judges) *God's people* [the subjects that embraced the reformation] *not only might, but ought to execute God's judgments upon him, according to God's law, and punish him, not as a king, but as an offender*: this was the common doctrine of *Knox* and his associates, the pillars of the *Scotish* reformation, and was maintained with the greatest assurance as a scripture doctrine, by the same *John Knox*, and others of them against secretary *Letbington*, in a long conference of twenty pages, which may be seen in (a) *Knox's* history. It was in consequence of this doctrine that queen *Mary* their sovereign was thrown into prison, deprived of her royal authority, forced to resign her kingdom to an infant of thirteen months old; by which the whole exercise of the regal power might

(a) *Knox*, hist. from p. 377, to p. 397. edit. in fol.

be conveyed to *Murray* and *Morton*, the leading men among this godly people: and it was to justify these proceedings against the sovereign to posterity, and to make these principles of government pass for the ancient constitution of the kingdom, and the right of the *Scotish* monarchy; that *Buchanan* first publish'd his dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*; and afterwards his history to support it, as we are now to shew more at length.

§. 2. Of *M. George Buchanan*; of his writings against his sovereign *Mary queen of Scotland*.

M. GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in *Lennox*, about the year of our Lord 1506. After his first studies in *Scotland* he came to *Paris*, whence after two years he went home again and studied philosophy at *St. Andrew's*. He came back to *Paris* A. D. 1527. and upon proof of his being made batchelor of arts in the university of *St. Andrew's*, he was, according to the privilege our *Scotish* universities enjoyed in those times in *Paris*, admitted to the same degree in that university, and commenced master of arts in *April* 1528, and in *June* 1530. he was elected one of the four procurators: the rest of his life, till he returned to *Scotland* during queen *Mary's* reign, may be seen done by himself among his works, and continued on lately by *Sir Robert Sibbald* and *Mr. Ruddiman*, to whom I must refer the reader for the high *Elogium's* which all the best judges, of prose and of verse, in *Buchanan's*

Chanan's time, and ever since, have deservedly made of his elegant *Latin* style, and of his incomparable vein of poesy: in both which kinds of literature, he seems to have surpassed all that came before him, since the decay of the purity of the *Latin* tongue, and perhaps all that have written since. It had been happy for his own memory, and for his country, if he had kept himself within these his proper talents, and not meddled with politicks, of which he could have no great experience, never having been bred to them, nor in any publick business, till he was past threescore years of age: and indeed it was a very surprizing thing to wife and moderate men, to see a private man, who had never been in any employment of the state, but had spent most of his years in colleges or private families, teaching youth, or in reading and forming his stile in prose and verse on classical authors, set up all on a sudden for a statesman, capable to give lessons of politicks, and form new schemes of the government of states and monarchies, which is the subject of his book, *De jure regni*; in which, says the learned *Straloch*, forgetting himself, he treats of such matters as require the pen of the best divine and most skilful lawyer, as well as of the most experienced statesman.

AND as to his talent in history, I mean that of ancient times, this requiring great knowledge of antiquity and critical learning, the two first books of his history of *Scotland* furnish us with a

proof, that he had applied himself to these studies, and was for those times more than ordinarily versed in them: and if with that he had been more free of prejudices, and of the spirit of party, less addicted to *Platonick* schemes of government of his own forming, and had found good vouchers, and been exact to follow them; his fluent and copious *Latin* style would have rendered him more capable than any in his time, to write the ancient history of his country with advantage.

BUT if we may depend upon the character given of him by one of his friends, that knew him well, and lived familiarly with him, I mean Sir *James Melvil*; no man was more unfit than *Buchanan*, for giving us a true account, or history of his own time, especially in his old age when he set about it. *Buchanan*, says this (a) writer, *was a stoick philosopher, who looked not far before him; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in latin poesy, much honoured in other countries, &c. but he was easily abused, and so facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him: he was become careless, following in many things the vulgar opinion: he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him, which was his greatest fault. To this my author adds two instances of his passionate revengeful humour. It*

(a) *Melvil's memoirs*, p. 125.

was necessary to take notice here of this character given of *Buchanan* by one that knew him so well, for we shall soon see the effects of it, especially of his credulity and passionate humour: and all the accounts that he hath left us of what past in *Scotland* in his own time, are new confirmations of it, especially what he wrote against queen *Mary*.

THAT princess, who was herself a notable proficient in learning, and a great encourager of men of letters, had always, both abroad and at home, protected and favoured *Buchanan*: among other gifts she bestowed upon him *A. D.* 1564 the temporal revenue of the abbey of *Crosraguel*; and for the particular esteem that she had of his capacity, she invited him home to *Scotland*, as he informs us (a), in order to trust him with the education of the prince her son *A. D.* 1565, even before the child was born; accordingly *Buchanan* had always extolled that princess with the greatest *Elogiums*; witness his dedication of his psalms, *Nympha Caledoniæ*, and others: but as soon as she fell into adversity, a sacrifice to the ambition of her base brother, the prior of *St. Andrew's*, whom she had created earl of *Murray*, and who had been *Buchanan's* pupil: he changed his note, and from being a great admirer of that illustrious princess his sovereign and benefactrix, he became her mortal enemy, having contributed more than could

(a) Buchan. in vita sua

have been expected of one of his low rank to her deposition from her royal dignity; having joined those that aimed at her life, and having afterwards, with a pen dipt in vinegar and gall, done all that lay in his power to ruin her reputation, which was dearer to her than her life. Now as his libel *De jure regni apud Scotos*, was chiefly designed to justify the rebellious proceedings of her subjects against that queen, and his history calculated to support that libel, it seems necessary, in order to put this in a better light, and lay open the grounds of *Buchanan's* history, to say something here of the cause of that injured princess, and of the misfortunes that befel her.

QUEEN *Mary* was firm in the religion of her ancestors; and tho' at her return home to *Scotland*, by the persuasion of her base brother the prior, (into whose hands, at her first coming, she had the misfortune to resign herself) and by the apprehension of a new rebellion from the zealots of the *Knoxian* party, who beset her, she had been prevailed upon to leave matters of religion in the state she found them, and had even been led on to prosecute those that were the best disposed, and the most capable to maintain her authority, and a liberty of conscience for those of her own persuasion, to wit, the family of *Huntly*; yet the *Knoxian* party was not able to persuade her to confirm the change of religion by act of parliament, or to establish the new religion by law;
partly

partly because of her aversion to force her subjects consciences, and to give way to a legal prosecution of those of her own persuasion; and partly because, by degrees, as she came to be better informed of the state of the country, and of the spirit of that party, by their insolent and seditious declamations, and the boldness they had, especially *Knox*, in spite of all the laws, to send out their circular letters, and make a convocation of the lieges to execute their fiery resolutions, the queen perceived that they drove on, as well at the ruin of monarchy in the state, by rendering the regal authority precarious, as they had ruined hierarchy in the church; so she began to be more on her guard with them, and not so liberal in her concessions.

THIS increased their hatred against her, looking on their religion as unsecure, as long as the queen's authority was acknowledged, or that she herself was alive, or at liberty: for however moderate she was in matters of religion in her own nature, her being descended by her mother of the house of *Lorraine* and of *Guise*; and the bare name of queen *Mary*, because of queen *Mary* of *England*, made her odious and dreadful to the blind zealots: and what the earl of *Kent* said openly to her at *Fordinghay* the night before she suffered, (*a*) *Thy life will be the death of our religion; and thy death will*

(a) *Tua vita exitium erit nostræ religionis, ut contra tuum exitium ejusdem erit vita.* *Camden. vit. Eliz. pag. 455. edit. fol.*

be the life of it, was all along, during all the course of her life, the secret sentiments of all the zealots of the puritan party in *Britain*; as to the moderate protestants, it is very well known she was highly respected by them, and had a considerable party for her even in *England*: but whoever will impartially consider the whole tract of contradictions and misfortunes that attended her, from the time that *Henry II.* king of *France*, her father-in-law, engaged her with her husband king *Francis*, to assume the arms of *England* after the death of queen *Mary*, and especially from her return to *Scotland* till her death, will easily discover, that her attachment to the religion of her ancestors, the jealousy of queen *Elizabeth*, and the ambition of *Murray* and *Morton*, were the real sources from whence originally they all proceeded.

EVERY body knows that these two lords, *Murray* and *Morton*, were the chief opposers of the queen's marriage with the lord *Darnley*; *Murray* openly taking arms with others his associates, and *Morton* secretly, and by craft; and when the marriage was consummated in spite of them, and *Murray* was forced for his rebellion to fly into *England*: the next care of *Morton*, who remained at home, was to sow division betwixt the queen and her husband, by inspiring that young, unexperienced prince; the barbarous design of murdering her secretary *Riccio* in her own presence, whilst she was big with child.

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HERE follows a short account of that villany, taken from letters of the time. To prevent the attainder of *Murray*, and of his accomplices, which was intended in the ensuing parliament, *Morton*, *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, and others their friends, addressed themselves to king *Henry*, intreating him for *Murray*, promising him the matrimonial crown if he would follow their advice, and in order to that, they persuaded him to concur with them to destroy *David Riccio*, as being the chief obstacle, by his counsel to the queen, of his obtaining the matrimonial crown, and a greater share in the authority and administration. By these insinuations they persuaded this young, unexperienced and ambitious nobleman, not only to forget all the ties of honour, allegiance and gratitude to his sovereign, who had preferred him to so many great princes that had courted her, but to commit the basest treachery and hazard, all at once, the life of the queen his spouse, and of the child in her womb (she being now about six months gone) by murdering her servant in her own presence, whereas they had daily occasion to do it in twenty other places: upon this, writs were drawn up, and mutually signed by this imprudent prince, and the conspirators; and accordingly, on *Saturday* night, the 9th of *March*, the queen being at supper with the countess of *Argyle*, they possessed themselves of the palace, entered into the queen's closet, king *Henry* leading the way, threatned the queen and barbarously murdered her servant *Riccio*.

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MEAN time, they make the queen prisoner in her own palace; but she having opened to her husband the danger to which they were both exposed by this plot, they escaped both in disguise to *Dunbar*; and the country being acquainted, did assemble in defence of the queen, who returned to *Edinburgh*; and *Morton*, with the other conspirators, fled to *England*. The chief design of this conspiracy was to alienate the queen's affection from her husband, which king *Henry* perceiving, conceived a mortal hatred against *Murray* and *Morton*, who had involved him in this misfortune; this again produced an equal hatred in them against king *Henry*, which ended in his murder. *Murray* joining with *Bothwell* to get home *Morton*, and all three aiming at the king's destruction for different ends. *Murray* and *Morton*, out of a hatred to his person, and an ambitious desire to have the ruling of the kingdom; and *Bothwell*, a vain-glorious man, being put in hopes, that if by any means the king was taken off, he might be divorced from his lady, and married to the queen.

(a) *BOTHWELL*, blinded with ambition, and with the hopes suggested to him, undertook the crime, and most villainously committed the murder. *Murray* slipped off the day before, that he might not be suspected, but that the whole suspicion might fall upon the queen:

(a) Camden, p. 115.

and

and to augment it, as soon as he came back to court; he and others of them that were in the plot, began to commend *Bothwel* to the queen for the splendor of his family, his valour in expeditions against the *English*, and his singular fidelity to the crown, and represented him to her as the most proper person that she could make choice of to be her husband: they suggested at the same time, that she alone would never be able to bear the weight of the affairs of the kingdom, to appease tumults and seditions; that it was therefore most expedient for her to pitch upon *Bothwel* for a husband, and to be partner of her counsels and dangers, he being a man who was able, willing, and daring enough to encounter them.

(a) BY these discourses, and the constant proofs of fidelity that *Bothwel* had given to the queen her mother, when almost all the rest of the nobility abandoned her, and by those he had given to herself; this desolate princess, not yet recovered of the fright of two murders, the one of her servant, committed in her own presence, the other of her husband, some hours after she had been with him, knowing none that she could trust with her safety preferable to *Bothwel*, at last promised to consider of it, but with this *proviso*; in the first place, that a due care should be had of the safety of the prince her son. 2°. That *Bothwel*

(a) Camden, p. 116.

should be purged in due form of law from all suspicion of the king her husband's murther. 3°. That he should be legally declared free from all engagement of his former marriage.

(a) THE next application of those conspirators was to get *Bothwel* declared innocent of the murther of the king; a parliament was therefore summoned, and proclamations made for the discovery of all that were suspected to be accessary to the crime. And because the earl of *Lenox*, father to the late king, accused principally *Bothwel*, and made great instance, that before the parliament met he should be brought to a trial: this also was granted, and *Lenox* summoned to have ready his accusations and proofs against the twentieth day; but *Lenox* hearing nothing in the mean-time from the queen of *England*, and fearing, as he said, to come to a town full of his enemies, desired to have the time prolonged; but he delayed doing it till it was too late: his letter to the queen bearing date the eleventh of *April*, could not come to her hands till after the twelfth, which was the day assigned for the trial: so it went on, and *Bothwel* was acquitted by a jury of his peers, *Morton* soliciting for him: and a few days after his acquittal the parliament being convened, where were present, besides bishops and abbots, twenty-six earls and lords of the temporal state, and among

• (a) Camden, vit. Eliz. p. 116.

those,

those, *Morton*, *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, and *Semple*, who were afterwards the chief of the conspirators: no person made any reclamation; on the contrary, the last day of the parliament there was a bond signed by several of the nobility, and among others by *Morton*, by which they engaged themselves to join with *Bothwel* against all that should slander him with the king's murder, and at the same time declared their opinion in favour of his marriage with the queen.

(a) BY these artifices of the conspirators the queen was kept in ignorance of *Bothwel's* guilt, and made believe, that all the reports made of his being an actor in the crime, were only calumnies of his enemies: so the process of his divorce with his wife being passed in both courts, and the banes proclaimed, they were on the fifteenth of *May* married by the same *Adam Bothwel*, bishop of *Orkney*, who was afterwards one of the principal instruments of *Murray* at the conferences of *Tork* and *London*, in prosecuting and defaming the queen: this was the most unfortunate step that this queen ever made in all her life; by which she disoblged all her true friends, and furnished to her enemies, who had contrived all this plot, the means to ruin her.

MURRAY, after concerting measures with them, to avoid suspicion of his having any hand

(a) Camden, p. 117.

in the conspiracy, obtained leave from the queen to travel abroad, before it broke out; and to blind the queen and *Bothwel* the more, he left them trustees in appearance, of all that belonged to him: but *Murray* was scarce past over from *England* to *France*, when behold, those very men who had concurred to *Bothwel*'s acquital of the murder, and consented by bonds under their hands to the marriage, take up arms, as if they had intended to apprehend *Bothwel*, but underhand advised him to be gone, for fear that if he had been taken he had discovered all the conspiracy, and that at the same time, his flight might serve for a new argument to accuse the queen: so letting *Bothwel* slip off, they carried the queen along with them; and after using the greatest indignities towards her, shut her up close prisoner in the castle of *Lochlevin*, under the custody of *Murray*'s mother, who had the impudence to pretend that she was lawful spouse to king *James V.* and her son *Murray*, that king's lawful son. Thus far *Camden*.

(a) THE first step of the conspirators against the queen at her imprisonment, was to deny her the common justice allowed to the greatest criminals of the lowest rank; for when she saw that, against the assurance they had given her, they

(a) Queen *Mary*'s letter to queen *Elizabeth*, of May 17, 1568.

were

were resolved to send her prisoner to *Lochlevin*: she earnestly intreated to be heard in her own defence in their council; this they absolutely refused, and hurried her away in the night-time in a beggarly habit to *Lochlevin*: but the reason of their refusing her this common justice is plain: they knew that if she had been permitted to appear in their council, she could have reproached all of them that sat there to their faces; the concurrence of some, and the connivance of all of them to the acquital of *Bothwell* and his marriage with her, which now were made her greatest crimes.

THE queen being thus made close prisoner, and no person whatsoever being suffer'd to see, speak, or write to her, but her jaylors, and those of the faction: by this the government being unhinged, the conspirators remaining masters, in order to have a title to dispose of all at their pleasure, erected themselves into a secret, or privy-council: but being conscious to themselves, that by laying violent hands on their sovereign, they were guilty of the crime of treason in the highest degree, and by that had forfeited their lives and fortunes; it was of the last importance for them to fix guilt upon the queen at any rate, and have her thought worthy of deprivation, or even of death.

THEY had been obliged to go hastily to work, and not to let escape the opportunity of the queen's coming

coming over to them, and voluntarily putting herself into their hands, on their solemn promises of serving and honouring her according to her dignity; when once they had gotten her, it was of importance to make haste to secure her: all promises were forgot, and by this violence they had begun to treat her as the meanest criminal, even before they found out any ground of accusation; for, according to themselves, the famous box was not discovered till five days after they had made her close prisoner. This was crime upon crime, and put them to a sad pinch: now what to do to render the queen guilty; for after the length they were gone, guilty she must be, else they were lost men, and would have been condemned by all mankind. *Morton* was a man of expedients: he produces a box, with letters, pretended to be the queen's, with her first husband king *Francis's* cypher on it. That was an easy matter. By this time, *Morton* and the rest were masters of the queen's palace, and of all her closets, cabinets and boxes; they might pick and chuse. *Morton* said it was found on *Dagleish*, who was carrying it to *Bothwell*; but there's not one word of that in *Dagleish's* confession, even such as they extorted from him by torture; (a) and at the time of his execution, he took it upon his death, as he should answer before God, that he never carried any such letters, nor that the quene was participant, or of counsal in the cause. But the

(a) Bishop *Leslie's* defence of queen *Mary*, fol. 11.

letters and sonnets in the box, contained proofs that the queen had knowledge of *Bothwell's* criminal design against her husband; and these were written with the queen's own hand. So both *Morton* and *Murray* swore; but they had both sworn oaths of allegiance and fidelity to their sovereign, to maintain with their blood her honour, her royal dignity, and her life; and they made this new oath with a formed design to ruin and destroy all three. Which of the two shall we believe? The first was free and voluntary; the second was forced; for after the length they had gone, without that they swore the letters to be the queen's, they were lost men. And was there any impartial judge that ever declared they were the queen's hand? I say impartial, and that had no interest to have them believed to be her's. And were there not then persons alive that had counterfeited the queen's hand? It was known there were.

BUT it was enough for the rest of the conspirators, that it resembled her hand, they were too deeply concerned to doubt of it. Declamations from the pulpit, ballads for the mobb, telling and writing, far and near, the tragical contents, with a wonder and horror, and feigned regret would supply the rest, till all the ends of the conspiracy were compassed, a demission extorted from the queen, her son crowned, and *Murray* regent; and then who durst say the contrary? To help it on,

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M.

M. Knox, and his associates, served them marvelously by their invectives from the pulpit, to enflame the mobb against her, and by wrested texts of the Old Testament, exhorted them to put the queen to death. Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, queen *Elizabeth*'s ambassador, tells her, he was present at one of these preachings, and so scandalized, that he complained publickly of it to these lords; but they were far from putting any stop to the declamations of men that served them to so good purpose, towards the justification of their enterprise, and of their imprisoning the queen.

SIR *Nicolas Throgmorton* (a) had been sent down by queen *Elizabeth*, who detesting their barbarous insolence (whom she often (b) called traitors, rebels, ungrateful and cruel men) against a princess her sister and neighbour, sent him into *Scotland* to expostulate with them for their insolence, and to take some course how to restore the queen to her former liberty, and for the severe punishment of the murderers of the king. *Camden* gives an account of Sir *Nicolas*'s negotiations from his own letters, whereof he gives the substance, which I need not repeat. I shall only take notice, that the conspirators were divided amongst themselves what to do with the queen; and that some of them were for making her process, and

(a) *Camden*, p. 118.

(b) *Perfidus, rebelles, ingratos, & crudeles subinde appellaban*. *Camden*, p. 117.

depriving her both of her life and of her crown, by a publick execution : and this, says Camden, (a) *Knox*, and some other ministers of the word, thundered out of the pulpit.

SIR *Nicolas* argued very pertinently against these illegal and barbarous designs. (I relate his own words, taken from one of his original letters to queen *Elizabeth*, which I have seen.) (b) *I said [to them] there was no ordinary magistrates, no competent judge or judges, no sufficient assembly nor tribunal, before whom their queen and sovereign should have her process maid, and her cause adjudged. For there was no ordinary justice, but they had their authority derived from the authority of the queen; and it was not to be thought, she would give commission against herself; and to abuse the grete sele to make any commission, to borrow her name without her consent and warrant, to make any proces, and abuse her title, was insufficient, and bye treason.*

I was answered, says Sir Nicolas, in extraordinary enormities and monstrous doings, there have been, and must be extraordinary proceedings. It was said, the states of the realme, and people assembled, might in the case be competent judges, whereof they had in their own countrie sundrie experiences in criminal

(a) Et hoc Knoxius & aliqui ministri intonarunt. *Camb. vit Eliz.* p. 118.

(b) Sir Nic. Throgmorton's letter of the 19th of July, 1567. *Cot. Libr. Cal. C. 1. fol. 18.*

maters committed by princes; and there was recyted unto me sundrie examples forthe of their own histories. This is the first time that examples are brought from the *Scotish* history, of the subjects proceeding criminally against our kings. If any such had been in king *James III.*'s time, they had not failed, as we (a) observed on that occasion, to alledge them; and their not doing it on such a pressing occasion; when all the world, within and without the kingdom, cried out against them, was a proof that there were not as yet any such examples in being. But now, in queen *Mary's* time, they had the precedent of the act of the *proposition of the field of Strive-ling*, and many other instances in *Boece's* history; and it was, no doubt, to those that they refer, in arguing with the ambassador. Meantime, it was not in his power, nor in that of the *French* ambassador, with all the authority of their princes, to obtain from the faction leave to see, or to speak with the queen.

THE conspirators, by their keeping the queen so close a prisoner, had the means to blacken her reputation every where at home and abroad, without controul: to that purpose served not only the violent declamations of *Knox*, and his partisans, but ballads full of bitter invectives spread up and down the country, to poison and alienate the peoples affections from her. With the same view

(a) *Supra*, p. 283.

the faction wrote, and spread into all countries where they had correspondence, particularly in *England* and *France*, the most infamous calumnies that their malice could invent; and all this with so much the greater impudence, that they were sure not be contradicted, by keeping the queen in so close confinement, without permitting her so much as to see or have any correspondence, either within or without the kingdom, they put it out of her power to justify herself, or contradict whatsoever calumnies they published against her.

AND this close confinement continuing near a whole year, and during all that time the calumnies spread abroad by her enemies against her, having free course without being contradicted, it is no wonder that they left deep impressions against her reputation; which not only encouraged her enemies to affirm and spread them with greater assurance, but stumbled even some well-meaning people. For the *Matchiavelian* maxim, (a) *calumniate stoutly, something will always stick*, was never more fully verified, than in this injured princess, especially during her close confinement.

IT was from this source that all the doubts, contradictory accounts, and disputes, which continue to this very day, about her innocence or guilt, did chiefly arise, according as people are or

(a) Calumniare fortiter semper aliquid adhaerebit.

were

were differently affected towards her, her family, and the religion she professed; for after so deeply rooted impressions to her prejudice, by such a torrent of calumnies that had flowed with a full course, and without any obstacle, during the eleven months of her close confinement; the defences and justifications published afterwards, however full, came too late to extinguish all the impressions, without leaving some in doubt of her innocence. So it is no wonder that, when after her escape from *Lochleven* she came into *England*, she found queen *Elizabeth*, and many of her council, prejudiced against her. All mouths having been so long open against her, and her own, and those of all her friends, shut by the terror of *Murray* and his faction.

BUT however these bad impressions continued sometime in *France*, not only among the *French* protestants, who kept correspondence with *Murray*, *Knox*, and the faction in *Scotland*, but even among some *Roman* catholicks, out of an aversion to the house of *Guise*; and in *England* by reasons of state: for it being thought necessary, for the security of queen *Elizabeth*'s government, to keep queen *Mary* in prison, the entertaining the suspicion of her guilt served for a pretence to it.

IT was not so in *Scotland*, where the queen's character and whole conduct, during all the course of her reign whilst at liberty, and all that had
past,

past, concerning the murder of the king, and her marriage with *Borbwel*; as well as the character and behaviour of the conspirators, were best known: for notwithstanding all the declamations *Knox*, and his associates; notwithstanding the forged letters and sonnets of *Morton's* box, and all the other malicious arts employed to defame her; notwithstanding also all the violence and cruelty, with which *Murray* made use of the royal authority, which he had usurped, to ruin all that declared for the queen. All these, and the other malicious calumnies of her enemies, were so far from gaining credit, that as soon as the queen got out of her confinement, the generality of all the nobility and gentry all over the kingdom, that were not of the conspirators, declared openly for the queen; and by their bonds and associations, both in the south and in the north, engaged themselves one to another, and by their letters to foreign princes, to venture their lives and fortunes in her defence, and towards restoring her to the exercise of her royal authority.

THERE is in the *Cotton* (a) library, a copy of a bond made at *Glasgow* the 8th of *May*, 1568, to this purpose, signed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen temporal lords, twelve abbots and priors, and above fourscore great barons. There is extant an original letter (b), signed by many earls,

(a) Caligula, C. 1. fol. 62.

(b) In Col. Scot. Paris.

lords and barons, addressed to the king of *France*, about the same time. There are two other original letters to queen *Elizabeth*, of the (a) 28th of *July*, and (b) 24th of *August*, in the same *Cotton* library, signed by a number of the nobility, declaring their resolution to stand by their sovereign, and to hazard their lives and fortunes in her cause; intreating queen *Elizabeth* herself either to restore her, or at least leave her at freedom to come to them. The same general disposition of *Scotland*, in favour of the queen, appears by a letter of the lord *Hereis* to queen *Elizabeth*, at whose desire queen *Mary* had sent that lord to *Scotland*, to hinder the civil war, and the shedding of blood, queen *Elizabeth* giving hopes that she herself would restore queen *Mary*. The letter (c) is of the 19th of *August* 1568, and begins thus: Madam, *At my return to this countrie, [Scotland] I fand the greatest part of this realme so inflamed against the earls of Murray and Morton, with some others of their adherents, for their proud treason and contemption against our native sovereigne, they had appointed an day to cause them repent thair misdoings, and acknowledge their obedience, or at least therein to do thair power; and for that your G. had declared your mind to my simplicity, was to putt my mistress in her own countrie and authoritie without blood-shed, &c.*

(a) Caligula, C. 1. f. 136.

(b) Ibid. f. 156.

(c) Cot. Libr. Calig. B. IX. f. 267.

By all these letters and bonds, made by so many of the greatest of the kingdom, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, it is easy to judge what account ought to be made of a bond called the second bond, printed by sir *James Dalrymple* from an original in the college of *Glasgow*; to which *Murray* procured a number of subscriptions, to acknowledge his authority under the name of the infant prince, in his circuit courts, from the month of *July*, till his parliament in *December 1567*, for the most part extorted (a) by the terrour of being treated as rebels; and this during the queen's close imprisonment.

BUT I find the indignity with which those good subjects used their sovereign, hath more than once insensibly carried me out of my road: I must now return to *Buchanan*.

WHILST the queen was in prosperity, and in possession of the throne, *Buchanan* continued to make his court by epigrams addressed to her majesty; some of which still remain (b): and among others, that of the 17th of *December 1566*, on occasion of the baptism of the prince her son; of which we shall have occasion again to speak more at large. The queen also, on her side, continued to heap new favours on *Buchanan*, whereof one of the latest was the principalship of the college

(a) V. p. 63, 59, 92, 98, nov. edit. A. D. 1715.

(b) *Crawford's Memoirs of Scotland*, A. D. 1706, p. 57, 58.

of St. *Leonard's* in St. *Andrew's*: but how soon the queen was stript of all, shut up in close prison, and deprived of all power of bestowing any favour, and that his patron *Murray* was coming to be at the head of affairs, *Buchanan* turned about with the tide, and not only became her enemy, but signalized himself against her. The first occasion that we find him declare against her is very remarkable, and no doubt served as much as any thing to fix him in that party.

THE general assembly (a) of the kirk met at *Edinburgh* the 25th of *June* 1567, ten days after the queen's imprisonment, a time of triumph for them; and M. *George Buchanan*, though a meer layman, was chosen moderator or president of this assembly, which, in their account, was the first free assembly they had held; for as long as the queen was on the throne, or indeed any form of government subsisted, it was still some check on them who pretended, in their ecclesiastical affairs, to depend upon no power upon earth; and therefore, as king *James VI.* (b) says of them, they looked upon all kings and princes as enemies to the liberty of the kirk: and now they had their will and full liberty, the government was unhinged; for as to the lords that had conspired a-

(a) V. the acts of the general assemblies belonging to *Archibald Campbel*, Esq;

(b) Omnes reges & principes ecclesie libertati esse inimicos [*prædicant.*] *Jac. R. VI. Basilic. down to p. 148.*

gainst

gainst the queen, and intruded themselves into the administration under the precarious title of lords of the secret or privy council, which they had assumed to themselves in the interim, till they had compleated the whole design of the conspiracy, by setting up a new form of government; as to these lords, they depended more upon the assembly, by the influence that *Knox* and his party had over the zealots and the mobb, than the assembly did on them: and accordingly they came and joined it.

By the queen's close imprisonment, she was, *de facto*, divested of all exercise of the regal power. This assembly, with *Buchanan* at their head, seem to have assumed it in the interval: at least, they acted as if it had been devolved upon them. It had never been heard of hitherto in *Scotland*, that any, except the sovereign, could send out their writs to all the nobility and gentry, &c. of the kingdom, requiring them to convene on a precise day and place, with certification of the highest punishment they could inflict against the refractory. On the contrary, this seditious course stood prohibited, under pain of high treason, by many acts of parliament of *Scotland*.

THIS is nevertheless what this assembly, with their president *Buchanan*, did not hesitate to do, by directing their writs, (they called them *Missives*) with chosen deputies, not barely to ministers, but

nominatim to all earls, lords, barons, and gentlemen, of whatever degree, &c. *requiring them* (that is their term) to convene at *Edinburgh* against the 20th of *July* next, *with certification* that all those that refused to obey, should be reputed hinderers of the *godly purpose* in hand, and unworthy to be esteemed of Christ's flock; *seeing*, add they, *God has begun to throw down Satan under foot*. The meaning of this last expression was easily understood in that juncture.

THE Godly purpose in hand, pretended to be the end of this new kind of assembly, was to establish the kirk on a surer foundation, to root out every where all remains of what they called idolatry, and to settle the ministers, stipends, &c. but in reality, as it appeared by the event, the chief work was that the queen might be either taken away or deposed, if she should refuse to make a dimission of the crown, and a new king was to *be created*; which is *Buchanan's* expression at the accession of our kings to the crown, however due to them by hereditary right: but the expression was exactly true, in the putting the crown on the head of the infant-prince, who had no right to it as long as the queen his mother, from whom alone all his title was derived to it, was alive: but his coronation was only to serve for a vehicle to convey the royal authority to *Murray*, and the rest of the conspirators, which was the scope they levelled at from the beginning.

BUT

BUT what a conspicuous figure *M. George Buchanan* makes here, to be all on a sudden transplanted from the mean station of a grammarian, a poet, or at best the principal of a college, to be at the head of an assembly that acted so sovereign a part; and the deposing the queen, and investing his patron *Murray* with her royal authority, being the consequence of the writs issued out from this assembly; it is not to be wondered at, that *M. George Buchanan*, now changed into a new man, should take upon him, in his libel *de jure regni*, &c. to dictate to kings the rules by which they were to govern, under pain of being pursued by their subjects, obliged to answer before their tribunal, deposed, &c. and that we shall find him henceforth employing all his eloquence to justify the deposition of his sovereign, and to support his patron in the possession and exercise of the royal authority.

THE new assembly convoked by the writs issued out from the aforesaid assembly in which *Buchanan* presided, met accordingly the 20th of July; and one of their first businesses was the deputing the lord *Lindsay* to *Locheven*, where, by terrour of death, he extorted from the queen a demission of the crown in favour of her son, and a commission of regency to *Murray*; the infant prince was crowned; and *Murray*, by concert, coming home very soon after, took possession of the royal authority:

thority: and thus all the ends of the conspiracy were obtained.

IN the month of *December* following a parliament was holden by *Murray*, in which, among other acts, he and his party, who were entire masters in that assembly, not content to insert and approve the aforesaid acts of the queen's demission, and commission of regency, &c. as if they had been voluntary acts; but fearing lest the queen might escape, and not doubting, but in that case she would declare these acts extorted by force and null: therefore, to secure, as much as they were able, their lives and fortunes, and to give a shew or appearance of justice to their conspiracy, and imprisoning of their sovereign, in order to appease the publick clamour that was raised against them, both within the kingdom and without it; they made an act entituled, *Anent the retention of our sovereign lord's mother's person*, in imitation of, and copied after the act, *Of the proposition of the debate of the field of Striveling*, against the memory of king *James III.* of which we have elsewhere treated: and as the cause and proceeding in both these cases were much of the same nature, and both the acts equally against all the natural, as well as positive laws, so the essential terms of both acts are much the same. Thus, as the authors of that against king *James III.* make the son condemn the father and his perverse counsel, (so they call the loyal party that adhered to him) and declared

clared and concluded, that the slaughter committed in the field of *Striveling*, where the king and diverse others of his barons happened to be slain, was all utterly *in their default*, &c. and themselves *free, quite, and innocent of all*: so in the act against the queen, the conspirators make the son, an infant of a year old, find and declare, together with them, his mother guilty of the murder of his father; and that the imprisonment of her person, and all the violences done, or that might be done afterwards to her, were in *her awin default*, and themselves (the conspirators) *free, quite, and innocent of the same*. And all the proof of the queen's guilt, that they alledge in their act, is chiefly her marriage with *Bothwell*, whereof the principals of themselves were the promoters, and the letters, sonets, &c. found in *Morton's* box, though they had never as yet been verified to be the queen's hand, by any impartial judges; unless they themselves, whose lives and fortunes lay at stake, (if they did not prove the queen's guilt, and by consequence affirm these letters and papers to be the queen's) could be esteemed impartial judges: not to speak of the open hatred and violence with which they were actually then tyrannizing over the afflicted princess; among other injustices, (a) refusing to hear her, either in person, or to suffer any advocate to plead for her, forcing the rest of the assembly to comply with them.

(a) Let. of queen *Mary* to queen *Elizabeth*, May 17, 1568.

(a) SOON

(a) SOON after, *Murray* put to death *John Hepburn*, *Paris* a Frenchman, *Dagleish*, and the other servants of *Bothwel*, who had been present at the king's death : but they (which *Murray* little expected) at the gallows, protested before God and the angels, that they understood by *Bothwel*, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the authors of killing the king, and cleared the queen from all suspicion. Queen *Mary's* commissioners, in their memorial (b) given in the 1st of *December* 1568, at the conference of *Westminster*, affirm, that this declaration of those criminals at their death, was manifest to ten thousand; that is, to all the multitude present at their execution : and *Bothwel* himself, prisoner in *Denmark*, all his life-time, and at his death, did, with many solemn oaths and religious protestations, affirm, that the queen was not privy nor consenting to it ; and *Morton* at his death acknowledged, that *Bothwel* had told him that the deed [meaning the king's murder] must be done without the queen's knowledge.

IN *May* following, the captive queen escaped out of prison, from *Lochleven*, by the means of *George Douglas*, whose brother was her keeper, and got safe unto the castle of *Hamilton* ; where her resignation was declared null, being extorted

(a) Camden, p. 121.

(b) Cot. Libr. Calig. c. 1. fol. 234.

(c) Camden, *ibid.*

by

by fear: but the forces that resorted to her being defeated, she fled towards the borders, and trusting to the assurances given her by queen *Elizabeth*, against the advice of her friends, she passed over into *England*, where, instead of the assistance she had reason to expect, she soon found a new captivity. Queen *Elizabeth* being persuaded by some of her ministers, that her security, and that of her government, in a great measure depended upon detaining this afflicted princess: and in order to have a pretence for it, which might serve for an excuse or answer to the solicitations of other foreign princes in queen *Mary's* behalf, *Murray* and his associates were called up to *England*, under colour of answering for their proceedings against their sovereign; but in reality, as it appeared by the event, to give them a fair occasion, which they wanted, to produce and render publick the papers of *Morton's* box, and the other accusations they had invented against their sovereign, by which means her reputation might be blackened among the *English*, among whom she was believed to have too many favourers of all ranks; and at the same time the court of *England* might have a specious pretence, neither to concur to her restoration, nor to leave her at liberty to depart the kingdom.

THIS politick design had its desired effect, for the bishop of *Ross*, and the other commissioners of queen *Mary*, (after making a solemn protesta-

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tion for the independency of the imperial crown of *Scotland*, whilst *Murray* and his partners, who pretended to be the sole representatives of that kingdom, by their cowardly silence, seemed to make a base surrender of its rights) having in their reply demonstrated the illegality and inhumanity of the proceedings of these rebels against their sovereign, which was all that could in justice be required for their condemnation, and to obtain from the court of *England* the support which queen *Mary* had ground to expect, towards her restoration; instead of that, the new *English* commissioners being previously informed of the papers of the box, and other accusations brought against the queen, summoned *Murray* to produce them; which he, after assurance of protection for himself and his party, with a feigned reluctance, not only exhibited, but having designedly brought *Buchanan* along with him, employed his virulent pen to write in a fine *Latin* style, addressed to queen *Elizabeth* and her council, that infamous libel known by the name of *Detection*, to render these forged papers more probable.

AND queen *Mary*, however earnestly she pressed to have the liberty to come in person, and in the presence of queen *Elizabeth* herself, and of the ambassadors that represented the foreign princes, speak for herself in an audience suitable to her dignity, offering to demonstrate the falshood of their accusations, and prove that her adver-
saries

ries were guilty of these very crimes which they laid to her charge ; that was refused her, as it had been in *Scotland* on two solemn occasions, by her own rebellious subjects, as we have observed, first, when she was imprisoned in *Lochleven* ; and again, when they proceeded in *Murray's* parliament to depose her : on both which occasions she was sentenced by her own subjects to imprisonment, and to lose her crown, without being heard in her defence, though she earnestly and instantly solicited to be heard. As to the detail of these conferences, I shall refer my reader to queen *Elizabeth's* own historian, *Camden* ; who living about the time, not only perused the original pieces, and other writings in the paper office, in the *Cotton* library, and elsewhere, but had the advantage that no modern writer can pretend to, to converse on the whole with those that were in the secret, and at the bottom of the affairs of these times : and he being universally known for a man of penetration, of equity and candour, appears to me more to be depended on for the truth of facts, than any of those who have hitherto, or may hereafter write the history of queen *Mary* : so I return to *Buchanan*.

(a) *CAMDEN* informs us, that his libel, intitled, *The Detection*, was of small credit with the

(a) *Buchanani libellus* (cui) titulus *Detectio*— parum fidei apud majorem partem cognitorum invenit, ut hominis partiarii & fide promercali. *Camden vit. Eliz. p. 144.*

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greater part of the English commissioners, Buchanan being a man devoted to Murray's party, and won by money to write.

TO this I shall add one instance, by which we may judge of the rest of that infamous libel, and of the credit that *Buchanan* deserves in his virulent declamations against his sovereign and benefactrix, both in this libel and in his history: and I think it may very well be doubted of, whether he himself believed the calumnies that he advanced against her, as it will appear by the following example.

(a) *BUCHANAN* in his *Detection* employs betwixt three and four pages in the new edition in folio, in describing the queen's lewdness with *Bothwell*, and male-treating her husband from the birth of the prince, 19 June 1566, till his solemn baptism, December 17. And in a diary (to be found in (b) the *Cotton* library) drawn up for secretary *Cecil's* use by *Buchanan* himself, or some other of *Murray's* creatures, containing a summary of the *Detection*, in which, to render the crimes with which they accuse the queen more credible, the places, occasions, times, &c. are marked: and in particular July 20, at *Alloway*; August 13, at *Megililand*; September 24, October 8, November 5,

(c) *Buchanani Detectio*, p. 1, 2, 3, 4. Tom. 1. edit. *Freebairn* A. D. 1715.

(b) *Caligula* B. IX. fol. 247.

December

December 3 ; and so on at different places, all named and set down till *17 December*, the day of the solemnity of the baptism: so that by that time the queen (according to the *Detection*) was, in the eye of the publick, reputed a monster of all kind of wickedness: and particularly at this solemnity he brings in the queen, sparing no expense; nay, employing her own hands to fit out *Bohwe* as a beau, whilst the king her husband had not decent cloaths to put on, or appear in publick: all this *Buchanan* tells, with the greatest airs of confidence, two years after to queen *Elizabeth*, her commissioners and counsellors, as things notorious; that he and all the publick knew, and were witnesses to at the time.

YET all this was false, and *Buchanan* knew it to be false; and that the queen at that very time of the solemn baptism of the prince, was far from having led a scandalous life, or being reputed in the eye of the publick a monster of wickedness, as the *Detection* says she was: it was just the reverse in *Buchanan*'s own judgment, and in that of the publick; *The lustre of the queen's virtue was then so bright, that it attracted to her the hearts of all those whose breasts were influenced with virtue*: and he adds, that then and there she was happier than her happy ancestors; that is, she surpassed them, not only in sense and beauty, but in virtue.

THE ceremony was very solemn, and the assembly numerous, consisting not only of all the best and greatest of the *Scottish* nobility and gentry; but there were present the ambassadors of the king of *France*, and of the queen of *England*, each of them with a numerous retinue of gentlemen of their nation: and it was amidst this assembly that *M. George Buchanan*, the most famous poet of the age, to grace the solemnity, presented an epigram to the queen, and to the young prince, and puts the address, (as is usual with poets) in the mouths of the rural deities.

THUS he makes the *Mermaids* address the queen, (a) *As the needle inforced by the touch of the magnesian stone, veers its eager point to the northern pole:*

(a) *Pompæ Deorum rusticorum dona ferentium*
(b) *Jacobo VI. & Mariæ matri ejus Scotorum regibus, in cæna quæ regis baptisma est consecuta.*

Nereides Reginae matri
Vis dura ferri marmoris
Magnesiæ contagio
Imbuta vertit algidam
Ad arcton acrem cuspidam.
Cuiusque virtus imbuat

(b) It appears by this title of king *James VI.* and that of *Queen-mother*, that this piece hath been revised by *Buchanan* after the queen's imprisonment, and the coronation of the prince.

Potenti

*pole : so whoever's breast is influenced with virtue,
whatever climate he inhabits, thee he points at. 'Tis
this hidden power that hath attracted us hither from
the Indian shore, more forcibly than the iron is by the
loadstone : that we may have the pleasure of admi-*

*Potenti vi præcordia,
Te spectat unam, cardini
Cuicunque cæli subjacet :
Arcana vis hæc Indico
Nos traxit huc a littore,
Ut non trahat potentius.
Ferrum flex Heraclea.
Virtutis ut propius tuæ
Claro fruamur lumine,
Et patriis munusculis
Testemur observantiam.*

*Fanni Reginae.
Virtute, ingenio, Regina, & munere forma
Felicibus felicior majoribus,
Conjugii fructu sed fœlicissima, cujus
Legati honorant exteri cunabula :
Rustica (c) quam donis reverentur numina, sylvis.
Satyri relictis, Najadesque fontibus,
Faunos in melius properantis pignora sæcli
Responsa ferre cœlitum Rex hæc jubet :
Omnis in hunc rerum consensu machina regem
Non sorte lectum, aut lege, sed fato datum ;
Non aliter quam natura novere magistra,
Monstrante nullo, apiculæ suum ducem.*

*Buchanani Epigram. lib. 3. pag. 98, Edit. Frobenius, A. D.
1715.*

(c) Quem edit. 1715.

ring.

ring a-near the lustre of thy virtues, and with such small presents as our country affords, testify to thee our most humble respect and homage.

THE *Sylvan* Gods to the queen.

IN virtue, sense, and beauty, happier than thy happy ancestors; but most happy in the fruit of thy marriage, whose birth foreign ambassadors congratulate; whom the rural deities compliment with presents; the satyrs forsaking their woods, the nymphs their fountains, the *Sylvan* Gods commanded by their king, carry this heavenly message as a pledge of happier succeeding ages hastening to mankind: to create this king, the immense universe has combined; nor chance, nor law, have any hand in it; fate hath decreed it. Just so the little bees untaught, thorough the pure instinct of nature, know their leader. Thus *Buchanan*.

Now when *Buchanan* publicly presented this epigram to the queen on so solemn occasion, it was, no doubt, designed to be handed about among the *Scotish* and *English* nobility, and others present at the solemnity, as 'tis usual on such occasions; and by consequence *Buchanan* must have been not only persuaded himself that the queen was at that time esteemed a model of virtue, capable to attract all well-disposed hearts, &c. but that the *English* and *Scotish* nobility present were equally persuaded of the truth of what his epigram contained, other-
wife

wife to make so publick an *Elogium* of the queen's virtue, had been to prostitute his reputation, and make himself pass for a sycophant, which surely he was not likely to do.

I ask now which of the two extremes of the contradiction are we to trust to? *Buchanan* in this epigram (on the 17th of *December*, 1566.) giving us the highest characters of the queen's virtue, and rendring such a publick testimony to it in the presence of such an assembly, where the queen's character and behaviour was so well known: or the same *Buchanan* in his *Detection*; telling the queen of *England* and her council, that *at this very time* queen *Mary* was publicly known for a vicious monster, and expatiating before them on the subject, with all the fluency of his virulent pen? for I speak here only of that time, to wit, of the time of the baptism of the prince, the 17th of *December*, what she was in the eye of the publick, and in *Buchanan's* own at that time; for the papers found by *Morton* in his box contained nothing of these times.

THE only proper solution for this difficulty and contradiction, is to distinguish the times of the queen's prosperity and adversity. When *Buchanan* presented the epigram with such high *Elogiums* of the queen's virtue, her majesty was as yet on the throne, in the full exercise of her royal authority, mistress of favours and rewards: but

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when *Buchanan* presented the *Detection*, just two years afterwards, to queen *Elizabeth* and her council, or commissioners, queen *Mary* had been deposed from her throne, deprived of all, a captive first in *Scotland*, and then in *England*: the exercise of her royal authority transferred to *Murray*, and he become the distributor of all favours and rewards; and with him no merit was equal to that of defaming queen *Mary*, that being the only means to have her continued in captivity, and himself in the exercise of her royal authority: accordingly *Buchanan* was recompensed for his service, with the honourable and advantageous posts of (a) director of the chancery, and keeper of the privy-seal.

I shall add no more; but that this may serve in a great measure with impartial people, for a key to the rest of *Buchanan's Detection*, and his other declamations against queen *Mary*, which, if she had continued on the throne, had not only never have been composed; but in all appearance the queen on the contrary might have had more incense presented to her from the same hand. Since in that case *Morton's* box with the letters would never have been heard of; and if the queen had come to be, as without doubt in process of time she would have been, informed and persuaded of *Boithwel's* crime, both he and his partners in it would have suffered the punishment due to it.

(a) Memoirs of *Scotland* by ^{or d}*Crawford*, printed A. D. 1706.
 dref. pag. 4. BUT

BUT to return to *Murray*; though queen *Elizabeth* was well enough contented out of (a) an emulation ordinary to the sex, that some blot or reproach, by these accusations of *Murray*, was left, and remained upon her rival the queen of *Scotland*; yet she was too jealous of the prerogative of the royal dignity, and of the respect due to sovereign princes, to have it thought that she would countenance *Murray* and his party in their taking up arms, imprisoning their sovereign, and depriving her of her crown and dignity for whatever cause or crime. And this queen *Elizabeth* herself had let the *Scottish* conspirators know, upon the first news she received of their enterprize against their sovereign, by her ambassador Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, whom she had sent down in the month of *June*, 1567; and in her letter to him of (b) 27 *July* following to be imparted to them: she argues powerfully for the sovereignty of princes, and against the illegality of the conspirators proceedings: these are her words;

YOU shall let them (the conspirators) know, that if they shall determine any thing to the deprivation of the queen their sovereign lady of her royal estate, ye are well assur'd of our own determination. And we have some just and probable cause to think

(a) *Camd. p.* 145.

(b) *Cotton. librar. Caligula, c. 1. fol. 26, 27, &c.*

the like of other princes of christendom : that we will make ourselves a plain partie against them, to the revenge of their sovereign, for example to all posterity : and therein we doubt not but God will assist us, and confound them and their devices, considering they have no warrant nor authority of the law of God or man to be as superior judges, or vindicators over their prince and sovereign : howsoever they do gather, or conceive mater of disorder against her : and therein we appeal them to recurr to their own consciences, what warrant they have in scripture to depose their prince : but contrary, and that with express words of St. Paul, who to the Romans commanded them to obey, *potestatibus supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus*. Although it is well known, that the rulers in Rome were infidels : or what law do they find written in any monarchy, when, how, and in what sort subjects shall take and arrest the person of their princes, commit and detain them in captivity ; proceed against them by process and judgement : as we are assured no such order is to be found in the whole civil law. And if they have no warrant by scripture or civil law, and yet can find out for their purpose some examples, as we hear, by seditious ballets they put in print, they would pretend : we must justlie account those examples to be unlawful, and acts of rebellion : and so if the stories be well made, the successes will prove them. [And thus after condemning their proceedings, and assuring them that she would concurr towards the punishing Bothwel, and the preservation of the prince,

prince, she continues in these words] *But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not lawful, nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance is their superior and prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force: for we do not think it consonant in nature, that the head should be subject to the foot. Thus queen Elizabeth, when queen Mary was imprisoned by her subjects in Scotland.*

AND though reasons of state, and the persuasions of some of her chief counsellors engaged her, from the moment that queen *Mary* was under her own power, to change measures as to that distressed princess, and make use of the accusations brought by her rebellious subjects against her, for a handle to continue her captive; yet *Murray* and his party knew very well, that queen *Elizabeth's* sentiments of the respect due to sovereigns, and of the unlawfulness of taking arms against them, and pretending to depose them, for whatever reason, were still the same, it being a common cause of all sovereigns: so whatever face she in the present juncture put upon their fact outwardly, they knew very well (a) she hated and detested them, and all their doings in her heart.

THERE was therefore no other means left to *Murray* and his adherents to clear their cause from

(a) *Elizabetha Scotorum insolentiam in abdicanda Regina ex animo, ut videbatur, averfata, Camden, p. 145.*

this odium, but to endeavour to separate the cause of the kings of *Scotland* from that of other kings, and to shew that the kings of *Scotland* were answerable to their subjects, and liable to be punished or deposed in case of male-administration, however it might be as to other kings.

IT was then upon this occasion, and in this juncture that *Buchanan*, either by *Murray's* order, or of his own motion, as well to support their common cause against the queen, as being otherwise prepossessed with the principles of a power in subjects to arraign and depose their kings, wrote his seditious dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, to endeavour to shew, that the kings of *Scotland* were accountable to their subjects for their actions and administration; and by consequence, that queen *Mary* being, as he falsely supposed, guilty of crimes and male-administration, had been justly deprived of her royal authority by her subjects, to whom, according to the principles supposed in this libel, it belonged both to judge and punish their kings, when they found them guilty; and to dispose of the crown to the next heir. That *Buchanan's* dialogue, *De Jure Regni*, was penned upon this occasion; and at this time, that is, towards the end of the conferences, or very soon after them, both the dialogue itself insinuates, and original letters, still remaining, make it evident: among others a letter from *M. John (a) Betoun*,

(a) *Memoirs of Scotland*, in Col. Scot. Paris Tom. IV.

one of queen *Mary's* agents then at *London*, of the 11th of *March* 1569. Another (a) original letter of *Mr. Thomas Maitland*, brother to *Lethington*, written to queen *Mary* December 1. 1570; in which he protests to her majesty, that his being brought interlocutor into that dialogue, to say whatever *Buchanan* thought proper for his purpose, was wholly *Buchanan's* own invention; and that he, *Thomas Maitland*, had not the least hand in it. And that it was written about *A. D.* 1569. (b) *Buchanan* himself informs us, where he tells us, that it was about 260 years after the coronation of king *Robert I.* which happened *A. D.* 1306.

HOWEVER copies of this dialogue were then handed about, to lessen the odium of *Murray* and his accomplices proceedings, and to stop the public clamour and indignation upon queen *Mary's* forced abdication: but it seems the dialogue, after having served that turn, was suppressed for a time by the author himself, and not printed, that I could meet with, till *A. D.* 1579. The reason why the printing of it was thus ten or eleven years delayed, is not hard to be guessed at: the specious reasons it contains, and the air of demonstration with which the politick reasonings and facts, whereupon it depends, are advanced, sufficed to make it go down with those in *England* or *Scotland*, who had interest, that the afflicted queen should be

(a) Ibidem.

(b) De jure regn. p. 26. edit. Freebairn.

oppressed.

oppressed ; and considered it only as far as it concerned her personally, without weighing the consequences of it to all crowned heads, and the publick tranquillity of kingdoms : but it was not yet in a condition to bear the test of the publick, and wanted its chief and necessary supports to make it go down in foreign countries, and with impartial men at home.

THE author, to prove the pretended right of the *Scots* to depose their kings, makes indeed use of politick reasonings, drawn from republican schemes, with which his knowledge of the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* histories furnished him, as well as the common doctrines of the leading ministers of the *Geneva* plan of reformation : he endeavours also to pervert the texts of scripture, so express for the duty of subjects to their sovereigns ; for all which he hath been chastised by three of his learned (a) countrymen, and more succinctly by Sir *George Mackenzie* ; but the chief bottom upon which his dialogue is built, are the examples and precedents of *Scotish* kings, called to account by their subjects for their male-administration, and accordingly punished by them with deposition, imprisonment, or even with death ; and for this the history of the *Scots* is appealed to : in which *Buchanan* tells us, that he could count above

(a) Nin. Winzet. Adam Blawod. William Barclay.

(a) twelve

(a) twelve of these kings, that is, a third part of the first forty kings, besides others afterwards, who, for their crimes and wickedness, had been either condemned to perpetual prison, or, by a voluntary exile, or laying hands on themselves, had escaped the punishment due to their crimes. And (b) elsewhere he tells us, that of these kings some had been condemned to perpetual prison, others to banishment, and others had been punished even with death.

S. 3. Of Buchanan's *history of the Scots*.

THE only history of the *Scots* in vogue, when the dialogue was written, was that of *H. Boece*, in which indeed both the principles of this doctrine are supposed and supported; as we have seen before, by many instances taken from *Veremund*, and such other forged pieces. Now though *Boece's* history was at that time generally received, especially among those who had little or no knowledge of the state of *Britain* in ancient times, or who had been at no pains to examine the grounds of that history; yet *Boece's* whole narration being all over stuffed with false or fabulous stories, as it hath been (c) already shewn, entirely contrary to

(a) Possem enumerare duodecim, aut etiam amplius reges [*Scotia*] qui ob scelera & flagitia, aut in perpetuos carceres sunt damnati, aut exilio, vel morte voluntaria iustas scelerum poenas fugerunt. *Buch. de Jure Regn. pag. 32. ed. Frech.*

(b) — quosdam [*Regum Scotia*] perpetuis carceribus damnatos, alios partim exilio, partim morte multatos, *Ibid. p. 26.*

(c) Supra, pag. 249, &c.

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all true history: this was capable to decry so absolutely all its authority, in the judgment of all people conversant in ancient learning, whether strangers or natives, that it became quite useless towards supporting *Buchanan's* schemes of monarchy, with all the impartial, learned and polished part of mankind: there was therefore a necessity of new moulding the history of the *Scots*, to render it proper for *Buchanan's* purpose: and he himself, as well prompted by men of his principles, as fitted by his elegant *Latin* style, was prevailed on to set about it: he began to write it in or about the year 1570, and finished it about the year 1579; by which it appears, that the printing the dialogue, *De Jure Regni*, already finished and communicated to the *English* ministry and others, in the year 1569, was delayed till the year 1579: that the *Scottish* history was well near finished to support the dialogue.

A farther proof, that one of the chief motives of *Buchanan*, in writing the history of *Scotland*, was to establish popular power on the ruin of monarchical authority is, that in writing this history he had it in his option, either to follow *John Fordun* and our ancient monastery books, which he in his own judgment looked upon, as we shall observe, as the surest monuments we had of history; or to follow *Hector Boece's* history, of which he himself made in reality little or no account, but only as it served his design against monarchy. *Fordun*,
and

and our ancient monastery books or records, contained all we had remaining of ancient history, and certainly could have furnished *Buchanan* with much greater helps to it, before the general disaster that came upon our MSS. histories and records, about the time of the reformation, by the burning and destroying churches and monasteries, than can be now expected: and 'tis evident enough, by the critical dissertations contained in *Buchanan's* first three books, that his own light and knowledge (if his prejudices had not byassed him) would have led him to have taken *Fordun*, and the ancient monuments of the *Roman* and *British* history for his guides, especially in the times preceding *Fergus* the son of *Erc*; and by consequence to have been as sparing in the history of the first forty kings, as *Fordun* and the rest of our chronicles had been, who after all their searches, do testify that they could find no full account of these kings.

BUT this method would have done no service to the cause in which *Buchanan* was embarked; for there were none of these instances of the power of the *Scots* to call their kings to account, to be met with in *Fordun*, or any *Scotish* writer before king *James III*d's reign, or even before *Boece*, who alone contained such materials as were proper for his design: so *Buchanan's* own judgment and knowledge of antiquity being over-ruled by his passions, he resolved to follow *Boece* in his

history of the forty kings, as being the only *Scottish* writer who could furnish him with instances towards supporting his new schemes of government; the chief intent of *Buchanan's* undertaking being, as we said, to furnish proofs to support the principles he supposed in his libel, *De Jure Regni*, as our learned countryman *Gordon* of *Straloch* hath in few words well expressed *Buchanan's* whole design (a). *Qui centonem Buchanani de Jure Regni & historiam ejus exactè consideraverit, inveniet tractatum de Jure Regni Thesin propositam; historiam sic detortam ut Thesi firmamentum habeatur.*

WE have already shewn at length the forgery of the vouchers, on whose authority *Boece* hath given us the lives and actions of the first forty kings; and by the same reasons, all that *Buchanan* hath written of them, being built on the same foundation, is overturned before-hand: but tho' both these writers have delivered much the same accounts of a pretended ancient custom and right in the *Scots* to call their kings to account, and punish them for their bad conduct; yet there appears a great difference betwixt the two as to the views, intentions, and sincerity with which they wrote, as well as to their ability and skill in ancient history and critical learning.

WE have already observed, that the facility with which *Boece* received and followed all he

(a) Bishop *Nicolson's* Scot. Hist. librar p. 119.

found in his *Veremund*, and other forged authors, on whose authority he built his history of the first forty kings, shews indeed a prejudice and byass in him in favour of the power of the nobles and states, to limit the royal authority: and we have shewn the different occasions by which this notion got footing, and ripened in *Scotland*, especially after the death of king *James III.* It was the interest of all those that had a hand in the rebellion against that prince, or in the famous act made to justify it, to propagate the notion: so no wonder that *Boece* was tainted with it, finding it so conformable to the taste of the times in which he lived, and to the practice of the most ancient times, according to his *Veremund*, and other forged vouchers; to which his simplicity, credulity, and want of critical learning made him give credit, and look upon them as genuine copies of monuments of antiquity: but, besides that *Boece* was never embarked himself in any party against the government, or right of the monarch then in possession, and so had no private interest to support against monarchy: it does not appear, that in writing his history he had any design against the right of the kings; but that his chief intention was to exalt the glory of his country, by ascribing to it so many heroick atchievements, in ages, when other northern nations made no great figure, or lay in obscurity. And he (a) tells us also himself, that one

(a) Boet. præf.

of his motives was to encourage our kings to virtue by the examples of good princes, and deter them from vice by the punishment of wicked ones.

BUT as for *Buchanan*, the case was very different. He had heartily espoused the party of rebels usurping the royal authority, under the name of an infant, against their sovereign: he had been one of the chief instruments within his sphere, by his virulent pen, to make usurpation successful and lasting: and that success depending very much on strengthening the principles of the deposing power, it was highly his interest, as well as inclination, to exert all his eloquence on that undertaking. On the other hand, he was certainly one of the most learned criticks of his time, and a severe one too, when it was to his purpose: so that *Buchanan* followed *Boece's* history of the forty kings, not with a blind credulity, looking on it as well grounded, as *Boece* himself had followed his *Veremund*, but without believing himself the truth of the history of these forty kings, which he copied from *Boece*, or rather being persuaded it was all false and groundless; yet he made it his business to make it be believed by posterity; and all this with a premeditated design to render our kings accountable, and liable to be punished by their subjects, as well as to justify the proceedings against queen *Mary* in particular: this will, no doubt, appear a very heavy charge against so famed a writer, so much the more that

that it falls chiefly upon his probity and morality; and therefore requires not to be superficially treated, nor advanced without substantial proofs. In order to make it good I shall endeavour to shew, 1°. That *Buchanan* had no other ground or authority for all he hath set down in his fourth book (over and above what *Fordun* contains) of the names, lives, and reigns of the first forty kings, but *Boece's* history. 2°. That *Buchanan* was persuaded, that all that *Boece* wrote of the names, lives, and reigns of these forty kings (over and above what's in *Fordun*) was fabulous, and without ground or authority. 3°. That notwithstanding *Buchanan* himself did not believe the accounts that *Boece* gave of these kings, yet he does all that lies in his power to render them credible to posterity, and wrote his history with a design to impose them as true. 4°. That his chief intention in all this was to support the maxims of government he had settled in his dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, or a power in the *Scots* to depose and punish their sovereigns.

§. 4. I. That *Buchanan* had no other ground nor authority for all he hath set down in his fourth book (over and above what *Fordun* contains) of the names, lives, and reigns of the first forty kings, but *Boece's* history.

To be convinced of this, there needs no more but to compare together the accounts that these two historians give of these forty kings; and it will

will be found that *Buchanan's* account is a meer abridgment of that of *Boece*, in which *Buchanan* hath only omitted the fabulous stories, to give it, as we shall see, more credit. 2°. The same names of kings, the same genealogy, the years of their reigns and death; the same usage they met with from their nobles or states, contained in *Buchanan's* history, are to be found exactly in that of *Boece*, and in no other ancient history nor record: nor is there one passage of all these forty kings reigns in *Buchanan*, which is not in *Boece*, excepting a few of no consequence, from *Roman* writers. 3°. Though *Buchanan*, in the fifth and following books of his history, from king *Fergus II.* downwards, is careful to quote our ancient monastery books or histories; such as *Fordun*, the book of *Paſlay*, *Winton*, &c. yet he never mentions one *Scotiſh* historian, to authorize any thing of what he writes of the first forty kings in his fourth book: the reason is obvious, because he found no where, but in *Boece*, all that he relates of them, and no where, but in him, what he sets down of the deposing power.

§. 5. II. That *Buchanan* was persuaded, that all that *Boece* had written of these first forty kings (over and above what's in *Fordun*) was fabulous, without any probable ground, and deserved no credit.

THAT *Buchanan* was persuaded, that all that *Boece* wrote of the genealogy, names, lives, actions, and

and reigns of these first kings was groundless and fabulous, is clear from the principles laid down by *Buchanan* himself in his second book, of the ignorance in which the inhabitants of *Britain* were in ancient times, of all past transactions; for no knowledge of past transactions could be preserved, but either by written accounts and monuments of history, or by traditions or relations of the *Bards* or *Seanachies*. Now as to written records, or historical accounts of ancient transactions in *Britain*, (a) *Buchanan* first supposes with reason, that the northern, and more inland inhabitants of *Britain* were more barbarous and ignorant of what past before their time, than those upon the southern coast, where *Julius Cæsar* made his descent and inquiry; and yet even among those last *Cæsar* could find no accounts of past transactions; and he met with so great ignorance, that they believed the inland inhabitants (b) were originally of the island itself, and not come from elsewhere: and about one hundred years after *Julius Cæsar*, when the *Romans* had made the round of *Britain*, and discovered all the inmost recesses of it under *Agri-*

(a) In ea parte Britanniae quam Cæsar attigit, nulla prorsus vetustarum rerum erat memoria. Apud interiores vero, qui longè incultius agebant, longè minus: adeo ut cum illos de gentis origine, & veterrimis Insulæ cultoribus rogaret, nihil certe comperisse scribat. *Buchan. hist. l. 2. fol. 12. nova edit. Freebairn, p. 22.*

(b) Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in Insula ipsi memorie proditum dicunt. *Cæsar de bello Gall. l. 5.*

cola; (a) *Tacitus*, who had his accounts from *Agri- cola*, and those that accompanied him in that expedition, tells us, he could find no certain account of the natives that he could commit to writing, for the information of posterity: and this was about four hundred years after the time that *Boece*, and from him *Buchanan*, pretends to give us a distinct history of the reigns and actions of our ancient kings.

(b) *BUCHANAN* proves the want of all ancient records of history in *Britain*, from *Gildas* the eldest *British* writer, who lived in the sixth age, and could tell us nothing of their origine, or antient civil history; and acknowledges that the little he hath of the religious part of their history, was not from any *British* monuments or records, which, says (c) *Gildas*, in case there ever were any, were quite lost: and this assertion of *Gildas*, which *Buchanan* brings to prove the want of historical records among the *Britains*, includes all the reigns of the first forty *Scotish* kings: since *Gildas* lived about one hundred years after the time that *Boece*

(a) Post Cæsarem Corn. Tacitus non minore fide, quam diligentia scriptor, jam perlustrata Romanis classibus Britannia, intimisque latebris ejus excussis, ne ipse quidam quidquam certi, quod posteritati proderet; invenit. *Buchan. ubi supra.*

(b) *Gildas* quoque, qui supra quadringentos annos post Tacitum vixit, se non e monumentis, quæ nulla erant, sed ex transmarina relatione, quæ scribit, tradere affirmat. *Buchan ibid.*

(c) *Histor. Gildæ, cap. 2. pag. 2. edit. Tho. Gale.*

and

and *Buchanan* place the overthrow of the *Scotish* monarchy in *Britain*, under *Eugenius* the first, who was according to them the last of these ancient forty kings, and predecessor to *Fergus* II. whom they make the restorer of the monarchy.

AND by consequence *Buchanan*, by the inferences he draws from the expressions of *Julius Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and of *Gildas*, having proved, that even in the south of *Britain* the ignorance of past transactions, and of all ancient records, was so great in the fifth age; and supposing it must have been yet greater in the northern parts, *Buchanan* in course could believe nothing certain of what *Boece* relates of the reigns of the first forty kings, or any particulars of what past in the north of *Britain* before the fifth age, except what could be drawn from the *Roman*, or other foreign writers. I added here designedly [*by the inferences Buchanan draws from those passages*] because I think he strains them beyond what they'll bear in the original writers: but it suffices, that he understood by these passages, that as far down as the fifth or sixth age there was no credible accounts remaining of past transactions in the north of *Britain*, to convince us that *Buchanan* believed nothing of what he wrote after *Boece*, in his history of the first forty kings.

THIS is not all: *Buchanan* in the same place, consequently to the ignorance in which he supposes (with reason) that the inhabitants of *Britain*

were in those ages of all past transactions in the island, concludes by telling us, that (a) they who pretend to ancient annals or records of things past of old in *Britain*, must first give us account who transmitted down these annals or histories to us; where they have been so long preserved and concealed, so as no mention should have been of them till of late? how they were conveyed down incorrupted to us after so many ages? Would not one think that *Buchanan* had here in view *Boece's Veremund*, and other vouchers? at least, without naming them, he could not more plainly describe them. Besides, that tho' *Veremund* and the rest had been genuine histories, the question still recurs, What means they had to be informed of the particulars of the lives and reigns of these forty kings, the latest of them about seven hundred years before *Veremund*, and the earliest about thirteen hundred, before he is supposed to have written?

(b) BUT lest recourse might be had to the *Bards* or *Seanachies*, as the preservers of the memory of past transactions, *Buchanan* is careful to take away

(a) Igitur qui de veteribus annalibus Britannorum originem afferre se asseverant, reddenda, opinor, illis erit ratio, Quis primus ista tradiderit; ubi tandiu latuerint, quomodo ad nos tot post secula incorrupta pervenerint. *Buchan. ubi supra, nova edit. 22.*

(b) Quod autem ad Bardos & Seneciones veteris memoriae custodes, quidam confugiunt, prorsus perridiculè faciunt, &c. *Buchan. ibid. nova edit. pag. 22.*

also

also that desperate refuge; and tells us plainly, that it were ridiculous to expect any certainty of history from them: and for a proof of it he gives us this description of them: that the *Bards* were altogether ignorant of letters, and left no records of ancient transactions behind them; that the *Seannachies* were maintained in every clan, on purpose to chant out by heart rythms composed on the praises of their patrons, having no learning at all; and their subsistence depending on their flattering great men, no credit could be given to them.

IN fine, *Buchanan* concludes his observations upon the ignorance the *Britains* of old were in of the knowledge of ancient history, in these words. *In (a) so great a silence of ancient writers concerning matters of antiquity, when men were often ignorant of the truth of what past in their own times; there being nothing assured and sincere, I think it more modest, says Buchanan, not to be ashamed to be silent, than by devising falsehoods to shew one's impudence, and slight the better judgment of other men.* These were *Buchanan's* sincere sentiments of ours, and the rest of the *British* high antiquities, when, as yet, free from, or laying aside the violent spirit of faction and party, wherewith he was animated in writing his history, he considered more calmly what he met with in the ancient *Roman* and *British* writers, of the ignorance in which the *Brit-*

(a) *Buchan* ubi supra, nova edit. p. 23:

tains, even of the south, and more yet, those of the north, were of all past transactions in ancient times, and in particular of those of the seven centuries, from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.* How much more honourable had it been to his own reputation, and how happy for his country, if he had continued close to these principles, with which his more than ordinary erudition had furnished him !

As to the time when he wrote the first preliminary books of his history, whence the above quoted passages are taken : the remark that *M. Ruddiman* makes in his learned observations on *Buchanan's* history, upon a passage of the first book, where *Buchanan* corrects what he had advanced in his fourth book concerning the ancient monument, commonly called *Jules-Hoff* ; that remark shews very well, that the two or three first books were either written, or at least revised, and augmented with new observations by the author, after the fourth book was composed : but that these first books were composed, as to the substance of them, before the history, and only revised and augmented by *Buchanan*, with new observations, after he had written his history ; appears to me much more probable for the reasons following.

1°. IT seems much more natural, that a man of *Buchanan's* great reading would premise to the history which he intended to give of his country, some such discussions on the country itself ; the
first

first inhabitants, &c. as are contained in the two first books, than bluntly to begin the history, as the fourth book doth, without any preliminary.

2°. There appears no where, that I could observe, in these three first books, any thing of that spirit of party with which *Buchanan* was so possessed when he wrote his history, and in which he continued to the end of it, that it discovers itself almost in every page.

3°. It appears by *Buchanan's* (a) letters, written about the time, or after he had finished his history; and by the same learned author's (b) observations on them in *Buchanan's* life; that he was then so oppressed with the weight of age and infirmities, that he had given over all studies that required any great application: and so I think it no ways likely that he could, in those circumstances, have composed the two first books, which contain such a variety of observations, that required a more than ordinary application, a ready memory, and presence of mind, of which *Buchanan* at that age, and under those infirmities, is not to be supposed capable; and that all he could do in that situation of body and mind, was to revise what he had composed long before, and augment it with such new observations, as he had afterwards made. In fine, the introduction, or beginning of the first book, appears visibly to be the

(a) Ego vero literis jam valedixi. *Epist.* 57. p. 32. *nova edit.*

(b) Senio & morbis fractus. *Vit. Buchan. nova edit.* p. 11.

(c) words

(a) words of a writer, that had not already written the history of his country, but was only resolved to set about it.

So upon the whole, I am much more inclined to look upon the two first books of *Buchanan's* history, as composed by him, as to the substance, whilst he was yet unprejudiced, and before he was embarked in any party or faction, and whilst he had nothing in view but the truth of history, and was sincerely inquiring into the true state of the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of *Britain*, by the helps which his erudition and lecture of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* writers furnished him, as well as the knowledge he had of the *Gaelick*, and other ancient languages; and that he afterwards reduced these collections into the order in which we have them, with his additional observations, to serve for an introduction to his history.

BUT be that as it will, and whatever time he wrote those first books, it is very clear, by the passages that I have set down from them, that *Buchanan* was persuaded that there was no credible account of the history of the northern parts of *Britain*, during the seven centuries of the reigns

(a) Cum res gestas majorum nostrorum a fabularum vanitate liberare, & ab oblivionis injuria vindicare statuiffem, non ab se mihi facturus videbar, si a primordio, &c. *Buchan. lib. 1. hist. nova edit. p. 1.*

of

of the forty kings : and that the history that *Boece* had given of them was not only without any credible voucher, but fabulous, and contradicted by the more ancient historians of the *Scots*.

FOR it is a new proof, that *Buchanan* at the bottom put no trust in *Boece*'s history nor vouchers, and only followed him because he found him fit for his present purpose : that *Buchanan* was perfectly well acquainted with *Fordun*'s chronicle, and our other monastery books, and valued them so much beyond *Boece*, that in fixing the year of *Fergus* II'd's re-establishment, where properly *Fordun*'s history of the reigns of our kings begins, he quite abandons *Boece*'s chronology, who had postponed king *Fergus* II's restoration until *A. D.* 422, (that he might give that king time to go to the siege of *Rome* with *Alarick*, *A. D.* 409.) and follows that of *Fordun*, who places this restoration *A. D.* 403. And *Buchanan* continues to follow *Fordun*'s chronology in the succeeding reigns : this shews the little account he made of *Boece* and his famed vouchers ; and that if he had hitherto followed him, it was because he had no other guide in the reigns of the forty kings so fitted to his designs ; for *Fordun* had pass'd over those reigns, and given only a slight account of one or two of them for want of vouchers.

BESIDES, that *Buchanan* in reality was so much persuaded, that *Fordun*'s authority in our history

was preferable to that of *Boece*; that in the reigns of those among our kings, after *Fergus II.* whom *Boece*, from his forged vouchers, had set down as instances of the power that their subjects exercised over them: *Buchanan*, for the most part, sets down *Fordun's* account of these kings, tho' quite contradictory to that of *Boece*; tho' at the same time, not to lose entirely such useful supports of his principles as those later instances of *Boece* furnish, he fails not to set down also *Boece's* accounts of these kings, and then leaves the whole in doubt, and to the choice of his reader; knowing very well that men of his own principles, whom he had chiefly in view, would not fail to prefer that account of the story that confirmed them: but to be sure a man of *Buchanan's* principles had never left in doubt instances so proper to support them, if he had not had a great esteem of *Fordun's* authority, and a very small value, if any at all, for that of *Boece*.

ALL this shews how well *Buchanan* was acquainted with *Fordun's* chronicles, and by consequence with the old genealogy of our kings so often mentioned by *Fordun*, and by all our monastery books: and the preference he gives all along to those over *Boece's* accounts, makes it no less certain, that he valued incomparably more the series of that genealogy inserted in their chronicles, and looked upon it as the only authentick; so much the more, that the names were conformable
to

to the old *Scotish* or *Gaelick Idiom*, whereof *Buchanan*, born in those parts, was a good judge: and so he must have looked upon the new genealogy in *Boece's* history, as well as the very names of the most of his first forty kings, as a new invention, and could not but evidently see that these names were forged upon false readings of the ancient genealogy in *Fordun*, and the other MSS. histories: and by consequence *Buchanan* must have been in reality convinced in his judgment, that *Boece's* whole history of the forty kings, having those forged names of kings for its foundation, was an invention of later times, posterior to *Fordun*; and therefore absolutely false and fabulous.

§. 6. III. *That notwithstanding Buchanan himself did not believe the accounts that Boece gave of the first forty kings (as we have seen) yet he did all that lay in his power to render them credible, and wrote his own history with that design.*

1°. To put this in a clear light, let it be observed that all that is contained in the first six books of *Boece's* history, concerning the forty kings, may be naturally reduced to these three heads. 1°. The number, names, and genealogy of these kings; with such passages of their lives and reigns as serve to exalt the honour of the *Scots*, and at the same time are not manifestly fabulous, or do not clash directly with the certain accounts we have from authentick history, of the ancient state of the north

of *Britain*. 2°. These particulars of *Boece's* history of the forty kings, which are either visibly fabulous, or evidently contradict true ancient history, in the judgment of all that are skilled in it: as also *Boece's* often quoting *Veremund*, and other pretended ancient writers peculiar to himself, and his relying on them for his guarantees. 3°. The many instances that *Boece* gives of the *Scots* exercising a power over their kings, to call them personally to account, and punish them for male administration. This supposed, we may easily discover *Buchanan's* motives in new moulding the *Scottish* history; why he pursued *Boece's* plan of it, and followed him as his guide, preferably to *Fordun* and our monastery books; and what method he was to follow to render the instances of the deposing power, contained in *Boece*, more credible to posterity.

II. THERE'S no doubt, but of these three heads, to which all *Boece's* history may be reduced, the third head, containing the many instances of the subjects curbing their sovereigns, was what chiefly pleased *Buchanan*, and those that set him at work, that being the great support of all their politicks in those days, to justify their having imprisoned their lawful sovereign, and forced her to renounce her crown to an infant, or rather to her greatest enemies under the child's name. Now neither *Fordun*, nor any one history preceding that of *Boece*, furnishes so much as one instance

stance of that power exercised by the *Scots* over their kings. Therefore the history of *Boece*, and that alone was proper for their purpose, and for carrying on the work of the times : but then the second head, or fabulous part of *Boece's* history, rendered all those instances of popular power, and indeed all the history of *Boece's* forty kings in general, absolutely incredible to all men versed in the ancient history of *Britain* ; and so the whole became useless to their purpose, unless the particulars contained under that second head were retrenched. Now this could not be done but by new moulding *Boece's* history, and laying entirely aside all that is contained under this second head, and making up a compounded context of the first and third : the particulars contained under the first head being absolutely necessary for a vehicle to the third.

III. No man alive, as we have already observed, was fitter every way for executing this design than *Buchanan* : his erudition, and skill in antiquity and critical learning, more than ordinary for that age, enabled him to discern and retrench what would visibly shock the learned, that is all contained under the second head : his reputation in the learned world, and the air of assurance with which he writes, were proper to impose on the generality of the readers : and his excellent *Latin* style, formed on that of the purest *Roman* authors, enabled him to put the first and third heads, connected

connected into a continued series of history, in the most taking dress, to set it off among the more polite readers. In fine, his republican principles of government, his prejudices against monarchy in general, and against his sovereign queen *Mary* in particular; his union and joint interest with all the enemies of that princess, made him zealous in the cause.

IV. AND now to come into the detail of the execution of the work laid upon him, of writing our history in this new dress, in order to procure credit to all the instances of the deposing power, mentioned in that of *Boece*, we shall find he hath left nothing untried to acquit himself of that charge; and taken all the most proper means to impose on posterity *Boece's* history reformed, and put it in the best dress, tho' he did not believe it himself. In order to this he hath given us the same number of forty kings; tho' *Fordun*, whom he trusted more, had called them forty-five: the same genealogy as in *Boece*, tho' he knew it to be false and fictitious, as being contrary to that given by *Fordun*, and by all writers, and in all ages where it had been mentioned, and that of *Boece*, never heard of before: the same names of kings, tho' he knew that most of them were forged of late on false readings of corrupted and new copies of the genuine old genealogy. He added also from *Boece* the years of their reigns, with such particulars of their lives and actions as were proper to make

make up a continued history, and serve for a bottom to his instances of the deposing power. 2°. To make his new performance more plausible and acceptable to his own countrymen, and no doubt to give the country reputation among strangers, he hath omitted nothing credible in *Boece*, that tended to shew the antiquity of the monarchy; and appears very zealous in that (especially against *Humphry Lhuyd*, who had endeavoured to discredit *Boece*, which would have undermined all *Buchanan's* new fabrick.) He hath, moreover, taken from *Boece* such plausible accounts of the brave actions of the *Scots* in peace and war, under their first kings, as could not be proved fabulous, or directly contrary to authentick history.

V. 3°. THO' he hath nothing material in all his history of the forty kings, but what is taken from *Boece*, and from him alone; yet knowing that the learned began already to look on *Boece* as a fabulous writer, *Buchanan*, that he might not discredit his own performance, which he knew would happen, if it had been thought to be built on the authority of *Boece* or his vouchers, takes particular care never once to name *Boece*, or his *Veremund*, *Campbel*, &c. in ~~all~~ his four books, where he gives the history of the forty kings: but on the contrary, to gain credit to his own work, and impose the better on his vulgar readers, he hath written that history with the air and assurance of a man, that had good authority from ancient records of history,

history, distinct from *Boece* ; but without ever telling us where they are to be found, or even so much as naming one of them, which he failed not to do on other occasions, when he finds, in the continuation of his history, *Fordun*, or other writers, distinct from *Boece*, to vouch what he advances.

VI. 4°. To remove all that might render the credit of his history dubious, *Buchanan* hath carefully retrenched in his own history all those particulars of the second head of that of *Boece*, which plainly contradicted ancient history, or which he foresaw would be looked upon as visibly fabulous, tho' they be asserted by *Boece* with an equal assurance, as taken from his *Veremund* and other vouchers, as the other facts which *Buchanan* retains. Such are the wives of the *Picts*, interceding between them and the *Scots*, like the *Sabine* in the *Roman* history ; *Mainus*, like *Numa*, establishing the sacred rites among the *Scots*, according to the *Egyptian* form ; king *Dornadilla*'s causing tables of laws to be written, &c. But all that fine policy, borrowed visibly from *Titus Livius*, is dropped by *Buchanan*, as are also the far-fetched stories of king *Ptolomy*'s ambassadors, come to make a geographical description of *Scotland* ; those of the two *Spanish* philosophers ; of the *Druids* in the *Isle of Man* ; of *Fergus II.* going to the siege of *Rome* ; his bringing thence ancient books for his share of the booty of that rich city, &c. All this
is

is left out by *Buchanan*, tho' *Boece* says he had it all from his *Veremund*, &c. *Buchanan* also passes wisely over in silence the *Scots* assisting the *Britains* against *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus's* embassy to king *Metellanus*, and all the *Scotish* wars with the *Romans*, till *Julius Agricola's* expedition. *Buchanan* makes no mention of *Boece's Camelodunum* in *Scotland*, and (a) restores it, as well as the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, to the *Britains*, from whom *Boece* had borrowed them.

VII. To pass over a number of other reformations and retrenchments made by *Buchanan* in *Boece's* lives of the forty kings, to give them an air of truth, I shall only take notice of the turn he hath given to the life of king *Caractacus*. *Boece* or his vouchers found it honourable for the *Scots* to make that famous prince one of their kings; and therefore having grafted him on his forged genealogy, he gives us in his reign all that *Tacitus* had written of his story, turned in a dress proper for a *Scotish* king, with many additional exploits and circumstances of his reign, taken from *Veremund*, and such other records. All this *Buchanan* knew to be absolutely groundless, and drops it accordingly; but then not to lose quite one of the forty kings, he must retain the same name: but to obviate all objections from *Tacitus*, who tells us *Caractacus* was king of the *Silures*, or of South-

(a) *Buchan*, l. 2. p. 23. vet. Edit.

Wales: Buchanan makes quite another man of him, quite distinct from Boece's *Caractacus*; and accordingly, instead of twenty-six pages in *Folio*, which Boece had filled with the heroick exploits of his king *Caractacus*, Buchanan tells us in two lines, that his king *Caractacus* reduced the *Æbude*, or western islands into order, and no more.

§. 7. IV. Buchanan's chief intention in writing his history, was to support the principles of government of his dialogue, *De Jure Regni*, or the subjects power to depose and punish their kings.

To prove this we need only to observe, that whereas Buchanan hath rejected or dropped a vast number of particulars of the forty kings lives related by Boece, not only of what was visibly fabulous or false, but even of those facts which appear as probable as some of those he retained; and this out of such a desire of abridging the history of the forty kings, that he hath reduced two hundred pages that it takes up in Boece to about twenty pages: yet as to those instances contained in Boece, of the subjects exercising a power over their kings; Buchanan is so far from retrenching any of them, though he knew they were as fabulous as the rest he had past over; that on the contrary, he rather enlarges upon what Boece relates of them: and as a learned (a) bishop of the church of England justly observes, *When Buchanan describes the barbarous*

(a) B. Nicholson's Scottish historical library, p. 115.

assassina-

assassination or murder of any of the Scottish kings, he does it with such an air of pleasure and satisfaction, as shews that he delighted to dwell on the subject; and that the head of a slaughter'd monarch could not be a more grateful spectacle to the people (*gratum populo spectaculum*) than it was to himself. So that he hath not past over one single example of that kind without giving it at length; as may be seen in what he says of *Nothatus*, *The-reus*, *Dursus*, *Evenus III.* *Dardanus*, *Lugtacus*, *Mogaldus*, *Conarius*, *Satrabil*, *Ethodius*, *Atbirco*, *Natholocus*, and *Romachus*; which makes just a third part of the forty kings, as we have already (a) remarked, that he had reckoned them up in his treatise, *De Jure Regni*: and in the relation that he puts in *Morton's* mouth, *A. D.* 1571, he repeats so often over the custom or right of the *Scots*, as he pretends, to degrade and kill their kings: that one sees he took pleasure to augment the (b) number of them, and to recount the different punishments inflicted on them. And yet there cannot be shewn one single instance, by any history or record, before king *James III.* of any one of the kings of *Scotland*, having been judicially arraigned, and deposed by their subjects; (for that is the question) and even what was done in

(a) *Supra*, pag. 361.

(b) Cum tot reges, quos enumerare longum esset, majores nostri regno exuerint, exilio damnarent, carceribus coercuerint, supplicio denique affecerint, &c. *Buchanan hist.* p. 398. edit. *Freebairn*.

the case of king *James III.* doth not prove it : since he was killed in battle by a faction of the nobility in open rebellion, without any form of law, or judicial proceeding ; and the act that they passed afterwards to justify their attempt, was only to save themselves, as hath been (a) already observed.

So the first judicial proceeding, sentence of condemnation, and formal deposition of any sovereign of *Scotland*, was that of queen *Mary* in *Murray's* parliament, *A. D.* 1567. And how legal the proceedings against that princess were, even laying aside her character of their sovereign, and to say nothing of the legality of that assembly, may be easily judged by this ; that she was condemned without being heard in her defence, either in person, or by advocates, as she most earnestly intreated to be heard ; and that in the judgment pronounced against her, the same persons were her accusers, witnesses, and judges.

As to all the ancient examples of kings deposed, that *Buchanan* musters up, it will be found upon examination that they were all without exception, either of the number of *Veremund's* forty kings, of whom enough hath been said, or of other posterior kings, whose accusations and process depend wholly on the sole authority of the same.

(a) *Supra*, p. 279.

Veremund, related by *Boece*, but contradicted, as (a) we elsewhere observed, by the authority of *Fordun*; and of all our historians before king *James III.* or in fine, of the number of those kings that were killed in battle by their competitors, before the order of succession was fully regulated and fixed to the next immediate heir: but not so much as one instance can be alledged of any arraignment, judicial proceeding, or formal deposition of any one sovereign of *Scotland* before the month of *December 1567.* in the afore said case of queen *Mary.*

BUT in all this, as I said (b) before, on occasion of king *James III.* I only examine matters of fact, as a critick or an historian, without meddling in the least with what concerns the establish'd civil government, or the alterations that have been made in it by our kings and parliaments, since the fifteenth or sixteenth age: the sovereign alone, with the estates of the kingdom, and no private person whatsoever, being the only proper judges of what is best for the publick good, which ought to be the aim and scope of all government: and thus much as to *Buchanan's* so often repeated examples of kings of *Scotland* arraigned, judicially deposed, and punished by their subjects.

AND now to conclude what concerns him: by what hath been said in these four last paragraphs,

(a) *Supra*, p. 259.

(b) *Supra*, p. 253.

it will appear to the impartial reader that *Buchanan's* intention, in his history of the forty kings after *Boece*, was to impose on posterity, as true history, what he himself knew to be without any solid ground; and that one of his chief motives in writing it, was to confirm the principles of the deposing power which he had laid down in his treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. As to the substance of his history of the forty kings, having shewn that it hath no other foundation but that of *Boece*, the arguments brought against this last, do equally refute that of *Buchanan*. And to finish what concerns it, it is remarkable, that it came out in a proper juncture for such a work, to wit, *A. D.* 1582. whilst king *James VI.* was detained prisoner by a faction of the nobility: but that king was no sooner at liberty, than in a free (a) parliament, *A. D.* 1584. *Buchanan's* history, as well as the dialogue *De Jure Regni*, were both suppressed: and king *James* himself in his (b) instructions to the prince his son, joining *Knox's* libels, as he calls them, to those of *Buchanan*, enjoins an exact execution of the laws made against them.

I doubt not but some of the admirers of *Buchanan* will be shocked at the freedom which I have taken to censure so great a man: but, as I obser-

(a) Parl. 8. Jac. VI. act. 134.

(b) Non illos Buchananani & Cnoxi famulos libellos dico: quos qui in tua usque tempora asservaverit, sentiat ille mearum legum pœnas. *Basilicon doron*, pag. 163.

ved, when I first entered upon what related to him in this essay, I am as great an admirer as any of his panegyrist, of his ready wit, his eloquence, his inimitable *Latin* style in prose, and yet more in verse: all these rare talents render him indeed a *great man* in those qualities; but all these qualities may be, and frequently are, abused by those that possess them in the highest degree: the most estimable quality of all, is that which enables and disposes one to make a right use of all these talents, that is, the quality of the *good man*: and this is what I cannot discover in his historical writings, which alone fall under my consideration in this essay, and especially those against queen *Mary*, but just the contrary: this quality of a *good* and virtuous *man* certainly includes the moral virtues of gratitude, humanity, moderation, and compassion on those in distress; equity in judging, wariness, and reservedness in condemning, &c. and this with regard had to all in general, how much more with regard had to his native sovereign, and to one who had bestowed upon him so many marks of favour, distinction and esteem, which she continued to heap upon him, as long as it was in her power to do it; and especially that of making so early a choice of him, notwithstanding the zeal she knew he had for a religion different from her own, to intrust him, preferably to others, with the education of the prince her son.

Now

NOW I ask if there is the least sign or appearance of these qualities that make the *good and virtuous man* in *Buchanan's* writings, in regard of queen *Mary*, from the moment she fell into adversity? Nothing can be more opposite to them than a credulity of all the most malicious reports spread against her by her greatest enemies; a forward readiness to catch at all the frailties and weaknesses so ordinary to the sex, and all imprudences so inevitable to one in so intricate circumstances as queen *Mary* was in, who was continually tossed between different factions and parties; disappointed often by those she had most trusted, having none she could securely rely upon: to see him give the worst construction that malice could invent to all her words and actions; to make use of all his talents of ready invention, wit, and fluent eloquence to expose her as a *Medæa*, or monster of cruelty and lewdness, to the eyes of a foreign court, and indeed to all the world; and all this without any assured proofs, or any ground, but *conjectures* on the resemblance of the writings in *Morton's* box to the queen's hand; tho' as (a) *Camden* judiciously observes, *There are every where so many forgers that can so cunningly imitate and counterfeit other mens hands, that hardly the true can be known from the false.* And thus to insult with the bitterest satire upon a sovereign captive distressed, deprived

(a) *Camden*, vit. *Eliz.* p. 145.

of all that could comfort or support her amidst all her repeated misfortunes, and in a situation capable to have touched and mollified the heart of the greatest enemy, with whom there had remained any sentiment of humanity and generosity.

By all this it appears but too plainly, that all those fine maxims and sentences of morality, which are admired in *Buchanan's* writings, had not sunk deep in his own heart, tho' his great reading had furnished him with them, and his ready wit and noble stile made it easy to him to have them present to his memory, to give them a delicate turn, and to bring them to the purpose into his conversations, letters, and other writings.

I shall not meddle here with his politicks and schemes of government; but certainly he had done more wisely, as all good subjects ought, to have left the regulating of those matters to kings and parliaments: and if one may judge, by what he lived himself to see, of the effects of the change in the state of his country, to which he had contributed more than any man of his rank, it could give him little satisfaction or comfort to see it torn to pieces in its very bowels, and by the different parties and turns of affairs, become a scene of blood, rapine and hostilities, from the time of the imprisoning and deposing the sovereign, to his own death; not to speak here of its being rendered subject to, and dependent on the motions of a neighbouring court: all which took its rise

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from

from the oppression and captivity of the lawful sovereign, in which *Buchanan* had so great a hand: for those that had successively usurped her authority were easily brought into a dependence on, or, according to the phrase of the time, kept at the devotion of *England*, either by threatnings of restoring the queen to liberty and to her throne, or by bribes and (a) pensions, of which even *M. George* himself had his share, and that too proportioned rather to the service he had done to *England* against the mother, or could yet do to it, being about the son, than to his rank; he being the only one, under the degree of an earl or lord, that had 100 l. sterling of pension assigned him. By these means *Scotland* was kept in subjection: whereas queen *Mary* had a greater soul than to truckle to any foreign power; and, whilst she sat on the throne, had always preserved her crown and kingdom in that freedom and independency, which her royal ancestors had transmitted to her.

BUT, *Buchanan* lived to see those four regents, who, after persecuting the queen, had usurped her authority, perish one after another: and the last of them, *Morton*, after having drawn upon himself by his rapine, lewdness and cruelty, (b) the hatred and maledictions of the generality of

(a) The names of those in *Scotland* that had pensions out of *England*. *Cotton Library Caligula*, C. 5. fol. iii.

(b) See the accounts of *Morton* in Sir *James Melvil's* memoirs, and in those of the four regents, published by *Cramford*, A.D. 1706.

his

his country, perish'd unlamented on a scaffold for that same crime, with which *Buchanan*, upon accusations chiefly produced by him, had with so inhumane a bitterness defamed his sovereign. I shall say no more, but that I should not wonder that these, and such other melancholy considerations, upon a nearer approach of eternity, should have awaked in *Buchanan* some remorse of his writings and actions, as it is credibly (a) reported that they did: the rest must be left to the light of that day, when all will be made manifest.

C H A P. IV.

Conclusion of this first section.

NOW to bring this first section on the *Scots* to a conclusion: I have all along proceeded in it on the supposition of the truth or probability of the ancient settlement and monarchy in the *Scottish* line, as well as of that of the *Irish* high antiquities, as the remote antiquities of both nations are supposed by *Fordun*, and our monastery-writers his continuators: and in that supposition, among other things, I have shewn that the names, genealogy, lives and actions, and all that particular detail which *Boece* from *Veremund*, and *Buchanan* from *Boece*, have added to the short account of the

(a) *Buchanani vita* edit. Freebairn, p. 11.

forty or forty-five first kings left us by the more ancient writers, is false and groundless, and deserves no credit; and at the same time I have endeavoured to lay open the secret springs whence these new inventions first arose; this made the chief subject of the third chapter of this section: but before I entered upon it, I endeavoured in the two preceding chapters to shew, that the true honour of the present inhabitants of *Scotland*, and the antiquity of the royal line and monarchy, might be as well, if not better, sustained without these details of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, as with them: so that I have ground to hope that, when matters are well considered, none of the learned of my countrymen will find fault with the freedom I have taken with these modern historians.

I am, rather afraid, that those who are well versed in the ancient history of *Britain*, will blame me for having enlarged too much, on disproving a story, which the taste of this learned age hath in great measure discredited long ago: but because there are still some, who either out of a mistaken zeal for the antiquity of the monarchy in the *Scottish* line, or from other motives, will not easily part with *Boece* and *Buchanan's* story of the forty kings, I was resolved (after having already shewn, (a) that the antiquity of the settlement of the inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, and of the

(a) Supra, Book I. c. 2. art. 8 & 9.

monarchy,

monarchy, wants not the invention of the forty kings to support it) to go to the bottom of it, and to put in so clear a light the forgery of the vouchers, on whose authority *Boece* and *Buchanan*'s history of the forty kings are grounded; that the accounts they give of the barbarous usage of so many of their kings, and so many other fabulous stories, might not remain longer to be a reproach to the nation.

BUT as to the antiquity of the settlement of the Scots in *Britain*, and an ancient monarchy even in the *Scotish* line, laying aside the additions of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, I was long of opinion that, on supposition of the truth of the *Irish high antiquities*, those of the Scots in *Britain* might be much more probably sustained on the old system of our history, such as *Fordun* and his continuators had left it. The few particulars they contain of the Scots, from *Fergus I.* till *Fergus II.* laying aside some things visibly fabulous, appearing to me less opposite to the ancient *Roman* and *British* histories, and much more easily reconcileable to them, than those long details of the lives of the first forty kings, as they were afterwards set down by *Boece* and *Buchanan*.

THEREFORE, after being on the one hand fully convinced, for the reasons I have set down in the last four articles, of the falshood of the details given us by *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and their followers,
of

of the first forty kings ; and on the other, being unwilling wholly to abandon a system of our antiquities, which had been generally received among the *Scots*, during the three last centuries and upwards ; I was resolved to leave nothing untried that was consistent with truth, and might gratify my country-men, attached to the antiquity of the settlement and monarchy in the *Scottish* line.

IN order to this, my first application was to support the system of our antiquities much on the same footing on which *Fordun's* followers and continuators had left them, before *Boece's* history appeared, by endeavouring. 1°. To shew, that if the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland* be admitted of, in that case it might be made appear, that it was very probable that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* before the *Romans* entered it : but without pretending to fix any precise dates of the time of the coming of the *Scots* into *Britain*, because such dates are not to be looked for among illiterate people, such as all the northern inhabitants of *Europe* were in those early times : and to this end I had collected as plausible authorities and reasons as, I conceive, had been hitherto produced for the early settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain* ; whereof the reader will have seen a part in the second chapter of this section.

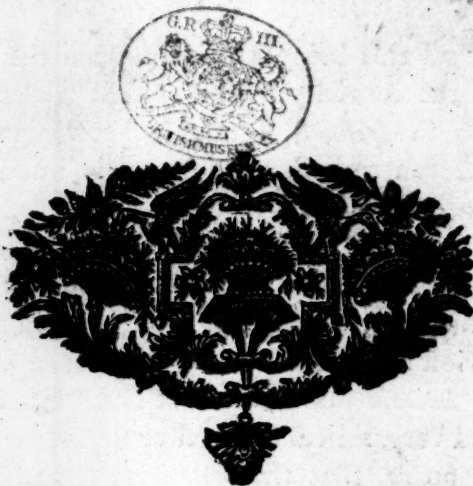
2°. WITH the same view, in another pretty large dissertation, I had entered into a full discussion

cussion of all the passages of the *Roman* and *British* writers, from the first time that the name of *Scots* is made mention of by ancient authors ; and had shewn, at least with probability, against *Camden*, *Usher*, and others, that all those passages might be reconciled with *Fordun's* system of our antiquities, (admitting some corrections of it) and in particular with the settlement of the *Scots*, before the *Romans* first entry into this island, with their being forced out of *Britain* by the *Romans*, after the middle of the fourth century, with their restoration in the beginning of the fifth, &c.

BUT all this being grounded upon the supposition of the certainty of the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, I must acknowledge, that when I began to look more narrowly into this, as it was necessary that I should, that being the foundation of all the system of our antiquities, there arose in me so many doubts and difficulties about this, that I began to look upon all my labour as lost : for it not being doubted of that the *Scots* of *Britain* came into it at first from *Ireland*, it seemed very ridiculous to suppose, or to endeavour to prove, that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* before the incarnation, if we be not sure that they were then settled in *Ireland* : this obliged me to lay aside all that I had written upon the ancient settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, till I should first examine the grounds of the *Irish* remote antiquities, that is, of the settlement of the *Scots*.

in *Ireland* so many ages before the incarnation; that accordingly I might be able to determine the true *Æra* of the first coming of the *Scots* into *Britain*, and of the beginning of their monarchy in this island.

THIS discussion engaged me into new enquiries, and these gave occasion to many new observations and new discoveries in the ancient state of the *Scots*, both in *Ireland* and *Britain*; all which make the subject of the second section on the *Scots*.



SECTION